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AND HIS FRIENDS

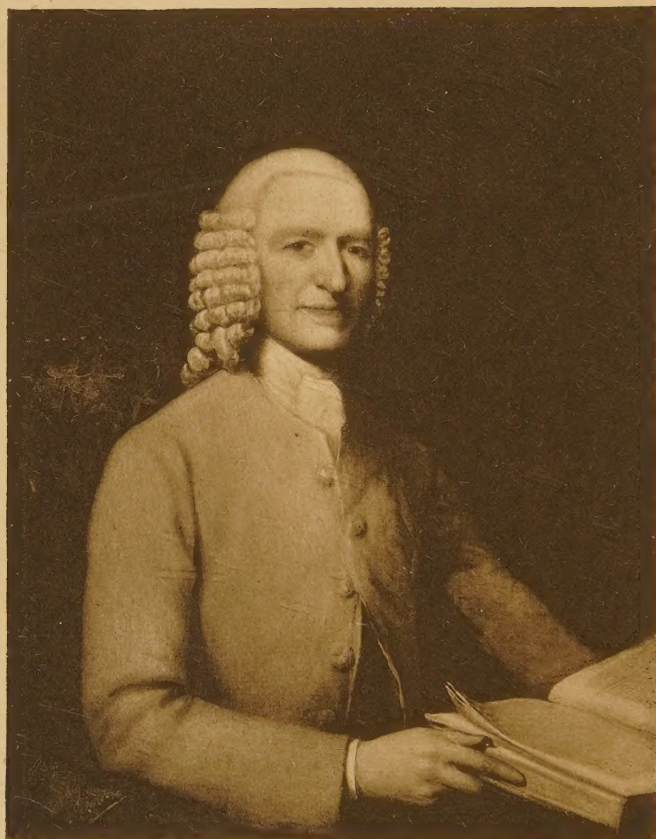


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*Dr John Fothergill
from the painting by Gilbert Stuart*

Emery Walker ph. sc.

DR. JOHN FOTHERGILL AND HIS FRIENDS

CHAPTERS IN
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY LIFE

BY
R. HINGSTON FOX, M.D.



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LET us preserve the memory of the deserving : perhaps it may prompt others likewise to deserve. The human mind requires every incitement to look up to its Original : to think it is not made for this world only. Great is the prize, and worth contending for.

Dr. JOHN FOTHERGILL, 1769.

Multum egerunt qui ante nos fuerunt, sed non peregerunt :
multum adhuc restat operae.

SENECA.

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PREFACE

DR. JOHN FOTHERGILL was a London physician, a man of science, a Quaker and a philanthropist, and one who had special relations with the American provinces before and during the War of Separation.

The friends of Dr. Fothergill of whom an account is given in this work are chiefly the following :

his medical friends,

Dr. JOHN AIKIN,
Dr. GEORGE CLEGHORN (Dublin),
Dr. WILLIAM CUMING (Dorchester),
Baron THOMAS DIMSDALE,
Dr. WILLIAM FALCONER (Bath),
Dr. ANTHONY FOTHERGILL (Bath),
Dr. WILLIAM HUNTER,
Dr. JOHN COAKLEY LETTSOM,
Dr. THOMAS PERCIVAL (Manchester),
Dr. ALEXANDER RUSSELL,
Dr. JOHN RUTTY (Dublin),
Dr. GILBERT THOMPSON :

his scientific friends,

JOHN BARTRAM (Philadelphia),
WILLIAM BARTRAM (Philadelphia),
PETER COLLINSON,
MENDEZ DA COSTA,
HUMPHRY MARSHALL (Pennsylvania),
Dr. JOSEPH PRIESTLEY :

his Quaker and philanthropic friends,

DAVID BARCLAY,
SAMUEL FOTHERGILL,
JOHN HOWARD ;

and his other American friends,

Dr. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
WILLIAM LOGAN,
Dr. JOHN MORGAN,
JAMES PEMBERTON,
Dr. BENJAMIN RUSH,
Dr. BENJAMIN WATERHOUSE.

The names of many other friends of Fothergill, who receive a shorter notice, will be found in the Index.

Dr. Fothergill was a man of wide interests. In order to render the picture of his life and influence as complete as possible, the author has combined a notice of his medical activities with his other pursuits, notwithstanding that the former may seem to be too technical for inclusion in so general a work. Portions of the chapters on his medical work have already been read before the Royal Society of Medicine and the Hunterian Society, or have been included in papers published in the *Practitioner* and the *Lancet*.

The sources of information are stated in footnotes, especially at the end of a chapter. The bibliography and the manuscript sources are more fully dealt with in the Appendix, where also will be found the text of the Conciliation Proposals for preventing the American War, 1774-1777, now printed from the original documents.

The author has pleasure in acknowledging the help received from many correspondents, medical, scientific, Quaker and some in the United States, who have supplied references and details ; these will be found noted in their

proper places. To members of his own family he owes a debt beyond all; for without their patient assistance the book could not have been written.

This volume is put forth at a time of strife, when men's thoughts are full of the toils and struggle of war. It may be well at such an epoch to be reminded of what our fathers were thinking and doing in times of strain and battle and loss, albeit on a lesser scale than ours. And we may perhaps gain some help in meeting the problems of our day, the age-long questions that beset the lot of humanity: how to control evil in the world, how to ensure justice, and the nature and the limits of the law of love.

36 DEVONSHIRE PLACE,
LONDON, W.1,
1918.

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CHAPTER I

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Examine the past, take from it all that is beautiful, and on it create the future.—President KRUGER.

THE eighteenth century is to many people not an attractive epoch in history. It has been called matter-of-fact, in spite of its sensibilities: there was little romance: "poetry and wonder lay fast asleep on Ida's shady brow." The stirring events of the preceding age in England were followed by a reaction, the high tide of revolution by a backwater, which lasted through several generations. British liberty was content to abide the illiberal rule of the earlier Hanoverian kings, and material aims were frankly dominant: the vice and gluttony of the richer circles seem to justify Carlyle's caustic comment: "Soul extinct; stomach well alive." But under this show of things the nation itself was still growing: vast territories were brought under British rule in the course of this century: inventions were many, and industries grew and multiplied: wealth increased, and became more diffused; and this led to the rise of the middle class of society. The influence of Bacon and Newton was bearing fruit in a keen appetite for knowledge; many modern sciences owe their birth to this period. Education began to be spread slowly, the newspaper came into vogue, and thought was emancipated by degrees from the shackles of tradition. The way of democracy was being made ready; its birth was heralded in France by terrific convulsions, but in our own country the long struggle against the absolutism of

the third George was conducted on constitutional lines to a successful issue ; and the British nation, chastened by the loss of her greatest colonies, and by long European war, emerged from its conflicts unhurt, ready for all that was to open before the world in the next age.

Art and literature were subject in the eighteenth century to a classical renaissance, and the love of beauty found expression in set forms. Wit of an artificial kind sparkled in conversation and in letters. But freedom of thought and the light of science must lead sooner or later to naturalism in the whole range of knowledge, and ere the century closed this had begun to show itself in art and even in literature. Nor must the strong and stately English prose, of which Johnson was only the chief amongst many masters, be forgotten. Religion was traditional, theological, systematic, and, it must be added, too often gloomy : the true Church slept under forms and shows and a low standard of morals. Men of independent thought were apt to cast off faith entirely, or to take refuge in a vague Deism. But there was always a leaven of faithful men and women better than their churches : the nonconformists grew in number ; and the great Wesleyan revival came as a sorely needed stimulus to the dulled conscience of the time. Influenced by a truer moral sense, many men entered on social and philanthropic work towards the end of the century, the era of Howard and of Wilberforce.

The science and art of medicine shared to the full in the changes which were going on in the eighteenth century. The increase of knowledge, the emancipation of thought, the rise of naturalism—these helped to set medicine free from the traditions of the past, and enabled her to build, upon the sure foundation of anatomy and what we now call physiology, a new science of medicine. Observation and induction were the means by which she built, and the *dicta* of the ancients came to take a lesser and lesser place as the science grew. Authority and tradition, revered through many ages, were slow to lose their hold, but all through this epoch of time the work begun by

Harvey and Sydenham in the previous age was carried steadily forward, under leaders of whom Boerhaave and the brothers Hunter were some of the chief. It is true that the new knowledge, following the genius of the time, was cast into systems: these had their day and passed, but the knowledge remained. If we contrast the teaching of the best physicians and surgeons at the beginning of the century—let us say of Boerhaave and Cheselden—with the teaching of Baillie and Abernethy one hundred years later, the change seems indeed to be far less than that which followed in the next age. Yet it was great, and greater in the science than in the art which is its outcome: true foundations had been laid, and a noble structure was to be reared upon them.

Dr. John Fothergill and his friends took a worthy part in the advances of the eighteenth century. Fothergill touched life at many points. As a physician, he helped to bring into English medical practice the new spirit of natural medicine. As a man of science, he extended the boundaries of knowledge, and brought the riches of the animal, and even more of the vegetable world to light. As a lover of justice and of liberty, he had strong sympathy with the American people: he did what he could to aid their growth, and he essayed to stand with Franklin in the breach, to stay the onset of the war of separation. As a philanthropist and a social reformer, and as a pioneer in education, he was a shining example to his age. Lastly, as a member of the Friends, during the Quietist phase of the Society, he took a leading part in shaping its policy and influence on both sides of the Atlantic.

CHAPTER II

DR. JOHN FOTHERGILL—BIRTH AND TRAINING

I know my ancestors are bound up in me. We shame them if we fail in courage and honour. Is it not so? Why, that makes us what we are; we dare not be weak if we would.—GEORGE MEREDITH.

No man is born into the world whose work is not born with him.—LOWELL.

His boyhood had been passed in the atmosphere of the Society of Friends—that intangible but pervading spirit, which instils rather than teaches the doctrine of the equality and brotherhood of men and women, of rich and poor; the nothingness of worldly distinctions; and the supreme duty of humane conduct.—G. M. TREVELYAN on John Bright.

JOHN FOTHERGILL was born in Wensleydale, Yorkshire, on the 8th of March 1712. Like William and John Hunter, he came from the class of small yeomen, once common in Britain, and which has furnished in the course of her history so many men of independent thought and action to take part in the national life. To find Fothergill's birthplace we must pass up Wensleydale, where broad grassy slopes on either hand lead to moorland heights beyond, and near Bainbridge we must turn into a side valley, to the little lake of Semerwater, fed by a stream flowing from the hills above. Here, separated from the lake by low meadows, stands the plain stone farmhouse of Carr End, half hidden by trees, with its back set against a rocky scar. On a slab over the garden gateway, and upon a small stone trough, are still to be seen the marks of the builder of the house: "J. F., 1667."¹

¹ Carr End was the property of the Fothergill family for about two hundred years until it was sold in 1841: it now belongs to F. H. Jackson of Middlesborough, and is occupied by J. Outhwaite. The house is in good preservation. There is a stone party-wall more than 4 feet in thickness, which contains in its substance, besides fireplaces, many ingeniously devised

In this quiet spot, far from the busy haunts of men, Fothergill was born, and here he must have spent his early boyhood. He would roam along these dales and climb the fells, and visit the waterfalls hidden in their wooded clefts. He would seek the sheep in the high pastures, then unwalled, and help perhaps to fetch peat from the bogs on the summit. He knew the labours of haytime, and the toil of the cheese-press. Often he would watch the moving patch of sunshine that travels along the hillside, often listen to the curlew's scream as it circles about the fell top in summer, and often gaze at the cattle standing deep in the water of the lake to cool their feet. The face of the heavens in this hill country is ever changing, and its changes form a chief topic of thought and speech. Sunrise and sunset, the fair sky that favours the shepherd's toil, the masses of cloud that darken the earth, the storms that come from west or from east—these seem to be on a grander scale, and to be more instinct with life and movement, among the hills than in the lowland or the town. All the imagery of the eighth Psalm, in praise of the Power behind Nature, might have been taken from Wensleydale. Old legends, too, cling to the dark shapes of rock or mountain. Did not giants once on Addlebrough and on Stake Fell hurl great boulders at one another? The Carlow Stone lies where then it fell at the foot of the lake. A wandering beggar's curse tells of the time when a town stood in the dale:

Simmer water rise, Simmer water sink,
And swallow all the town,
Save yon li'le house,
Where they gave me meat and drink.

cupboards, cabinets, desk, etc., also a small "tinder box cupboard" on the first floor. The fine curved staircase at the back seems to belong to Dr. Fothergill's time, and may have been added at his instance and expense: the house was mortgaged to him in 1778. The original wooden beams of the "houseplace" and other low rooms on the ground floor remain: the roof of the upper floor has been raised. The eastern end of the house, with separate staircase, is said to have been added for a certain John Fothergill on his marriage. There is a description of the house, under the name of Scar Foot, and of the surrounding scenery, in a well-known tale, *Kith and Kin*, written by Jessie Fothergill, grand-daughter of the last Fothergill owner of Carr End, and published in 1881. She died at Berne in 1891.

The "little house," degraded to a barn, still stands lonely by the eastern shore.

It is a place of distances, where the eye ranges over bare hills and into grey skies, until it seems to grow one with what it looks upon. The men of the moorland sometimes live closer to the heart of things than the men of the city. They are strong, too, and self-reliant, for it is by hard toil that they must win her fruits from the dear earth. The old ballad of Flodden Field tells of the muster of the warlike wights of "Wensdale":

With lusty lads, and large of length,
Which dwelt at Seimer water side.¹

The name of Fothergill is of old standing; "Fother" is said to be a Scandinavian folk name, whilst "gill" signifies a rocky streamlet. Sir George Fothergill, a Norman born, was one of William the Conqueror's generals, and was with him when he took York in 1068: he was rewarded with a grant of land in Westmorland, and married, it is said, a lady dowered with the manors of "Sedber and Garsdale." His descendants filled various offices of state in succeeding centuries, and the families of Fothergill dwelling in the small secluded valleys of Ravenstonedale and Mallerstang in this county during the past three or four hundred years are not improbably of the same stock. Some of the old Fothergill homes stand yet in Ravenstonedale: Brownber is a sixteenth-century farmhouse with ancient latticed windows: Tarnhouse was rebuilt in 1664.

When Quaker history opens, we find a young man called John Fothergill at "Molerstang" early convinced by James Nayler. J. Fothergill became a well-furnished minister among the Friends, and laboured much in several parts of England. Haled out of a peaceable meeting at Guildford in 1665, he was committed to prison in Southwark, and, to save the constable's trouble, travelled

¹ *The Ballad of Flodden Field, A Poem of the XVIth Century.* Ed. by C. A. Federer, 1884, p. 49.

thither alone bearing his *mittimus* with him. After some months he died in the prison of a fever.

From Westmorland, one John Fothergill is said to have migrated eastward to Wensleydale soon after the year 1600. He may well have come from Castlethwaite in Mallerstang, under the dark mass of Wild Boar Fell; there were Fothergills here dwelling on their own land until recent times. In 1652 George Fox visited the neighbourhood. "I came upp Wensydale," he writes in his *Journal*, "& after passt uppe ye dales, warninge people to feare God & declaring his truth to y^m . . . & some was convinced & stands to this day." In fact the Quaker faith was well received by the dalesmen, and this district became a stronghold of the Friends. Men of independent mind, prone to contemplate and to turn inward, they cherished here an unfettered conscience, bearing fruit in pure and steadfast lives and in the kindly help of their brethren. If the bleak lonely hills and inexorable skies ministered to a deep faith in the unseen, is it wonder if sometimes that faith was a little stern, a little chill? ¹

¹ Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 217; J. H. Tuke, *Sketch of J. Fothergill*; C. Thornton, etc., *The Fothergills of Ravenstonedale*; *The First Publishers of Truth*, ed. by N. Penney, pp. 162, 248, 272; Swarthmore MSS. Transcript, iv. 364; Geo. Fox, *Journal*, Camb. Ed. i. 40, 41. From the Westmorland Fothergills have come not a few men of learning and ability. Thomas Fothergill, master of St. John's College, Cambridge, founded in 1668 a free school in Ravenstonedale. Anthony Fothergill of Brownber, who died 1761, was a theological writer and a man of "integrity of heart." George Fothergill, D.D. (b. 1705, d. 1760), was Principal of St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford; and his brother Thomas, born 1715, was Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, from 1767 to his death in 1796. The latter was a learned and singular man—"Old Customary" was his familiar name—he would not, it is said, "have been seen abroad minus his wig and gown for a dukedom." The tale is told that when the college was devastated by a fire in 1778, and Mrs. Fothergill and the family had with difficulty escaped the flames, the doctor could nowhere be found, until at the last he emerged from the burning pile, full dressed as usual, having stayed to robe at the risk of his life. See *Letters of R. Radcliffe and John James*, ed. by M. Evans, Oxford Hist. Soc., 1888, p. 269. Elizabeth Gaunt, the Anabaptist martyr, and the last woman to be burnt at the stake in England (1685), was a Fothergill of Ravenstonedale. Of Anthony Fothergill, M.D., an account will be given in another chapter. John Milner Fothergill, M.D., Edin., 1865, was a physician in Henrietta Street, London. He was born in 1841 and died in 1888; his works on Digitalis and other therapeutical topics are well known. The Milner Fothergill Gold Medal of the University of Edinburgh was instituted in his memory. Sir William Fothergill Cooke (died 1879), one of the inventors of the electric telegraph, owned a maternal

John Fothergill, the builder of Carr End, was convinced as a Friend, perhaps as early as the time of George Fox's first visit: he died in 1684. To the house and farm succeeded Alexander Fothergill, a faithful witness to Quaker faith: he lay in prison at York for six months on account of his testimony against tithes. His eldest son, John Fothergill, the father of the doctor, was then but eighteen years of age, and thus while still a youth had to take sole charge of a motherless family, and to manage the farm and servants: his father, too, died a year later. This John Fothergill, who was born in 1675, was deeply exercised in spiritual things from his boyhood, and early took part in the ministry of the meeting at Countersett. Amid searchings of heart and humbling of soul, his call to this service sounded yet clearer. Soon after his twentieth year he found means to be released from much worldly cares, and gave most of his time, with the approval of his friends, to religious visits, at first near home and then farther away. He thus travelled often and widely, returning to work in his own and his neighbours' fields, until such time as duty led him forth again. Three times between 1706 and 1737 he visited the American colonies, spending several years in laborious journeys through the sparsely settled regions, and gathering the Friends and others together to wait reverently on the Lord and to learn of Him. At Mattocks in Virginia, in the seventh month, 1721, a meeting was held, so he tells us, "at Justice Washington's, a friendly man, where the love of God opened my heart towards the people." This was Lawrence Washington, the grandfather of George Washington, who was born eleven years later. John Fothergill the elder had a tall, well-shaped frame and a powerful voice; he was a man of authority, upright, inflexible, severe, even to a "faithful son." His ministry was deep and searching, rebuking

inheritance. John Fothergill, J.P., of Brownber, High Sheriff of Westmorland in 1911, Dr. E. Rowland Fothergill of Brighton, Dr. Claud F. Fothergill of London, and Gerald Fothergill, one of the founders of the Society of Genealogists of London, are among the present representatives of the family.

hypocrisy and wickedness as with a sharp sword, yet tender-spirited, yearning over his hearers, and labouring to bring them to "an experience of an holy living principle operating in their hearts," which would lead them into all truth and virtue.

An able farmer in his own line, John Fothergill was kind to those around him, and of good repute in the North Riding. His spiritual labours did not hinder him from taking some part in public affairs. In 1734 we find him at York in the midst of a hotly contested parliamentary election for the county. It was in the days of Walpole's struggle with the "Patriots" over his Excise Bill. Fothergill signed with three others a circular letter to Friends, urging them to come up and use all their interest on Cholmley Turner and Wynne's behalf; and this, so the letter ran, as "a necessary service to our king and country, which it is our interest and duty to be concerned in." Turner was elected, with Sir Miles Stapylton for a colleague.

John Fothergill was twice married: his first wife, Margaret Hough, came of a substantial Friends' family at Sutton in Cheshire, and bore him eight children: of his sons several died early: John, the future doctor, was the second who survived; and Samuel, the fourth, became, as we shall see, a yet more noted preacher than his sire. The father was careful to give his sons a more liberal education than he had himself received. His wife is described as a woman of a meek and grave spirit, who prayed much for her children: she died in 1719, when they were all quite young. In 1727 her husband married a second wife, Elizabeth Buck, and continued to travel laboriously in truth's service when weakness of body might easily have excused him. He lived to see his son and namesake well established in London, and the latter faithfully fulfilled a son's duty in caring for his father's declining years. "I have no dependence on human assistance but from thee," wrote the old man in his last letter, "nor any correspondence which affords me like comfort and satisfaction." He

died in 1744, loved and honoured by his children, and his example was a strong influence in their lives. Dr. Fothergill compiled an *Account of his father's Life and Travels*, which was published in 1753: it consisted chiefly of his American journals. Twenty-five years later the doctor and his sister paid a visit to their father's burial place at Scotton, near Knaresborough. "We rejoiced," writes the former, "in the remembrance of his life: if we wept, it was not from sorrow."¹

The care and education of the future doctor devolved much upon his uncle, Thomas Hough, by whose means he was sent first to a day-school at Frodsham, and afterwards at the age of twelve years to the old Grammar School at Sedbergh, then under the long and tranquil rule of Dr. Samuel Saunders. Fothergill and his brother Samuel lived in a family at Brigflatts whilst attending the school. Here he was well grounded in letters, acquiring facility in the Latin tongue and some knowledge of Greek.²

Thence at the age of sixteen he went to Bradford in Yorkshire to be apprenticed to an eminent Friend apothecary, Benjamin Bartlett. The indenture, dated 1728, states that John Fothergill, junior, hath of his own will

¹ On John Fothergill, see *Account of J. Fothergill*, p. 113, etc.; *Mem. S. Fothergill*, MS. Letters, Friends' Reference Library, London (Portf. 36, 43, and others); *Collection of Testimonies concerning Quakers*, London, 1760, p. 180; J. Gough, *Hist. of the Quakers*, iv. 326; Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, *The Youth of Washington*, p. 20; *Diary of John Smith*, 1736, in A. C. Myers' *Hannah Logan's Courtship*, p. 336; Tuke, *op. cit.*

Two of Dr. Fothergill's brothers left descendants. Alexander Fothergill, the elder of the two, lived on at Carr End. One of the latter's grandsons, Samuel Fothergill, born 1780, became M.D. of Glasgow in 1802, with a thesis *De Phantasmatis in Ægrotos potentia*. He settled in Leicester Square, London, where he was physician to the Western Dispensary, and co-editor of the *Medical and Physical Journal* from 1810 to 1821. His work on Tic Douloureux will be mentioned later. Owing to pulmonary weakness he went abroad, and died in Jamaica in 1822: his widow lived to 1878. See Munk, *Roll Roy. Coll. Phys.* and the *Catal. Surg. Gen. Lib.* Charles Fothergill of Toronto, a naturalist and literary man (b. 1780, d. 1841), was a brother of Dr. S. Fothergill.

Another grandson, John Fothergill, was a surgeon at Darlington, and the ancestor of several Fothergills in the medical and dental professions, including Dr. William Edward Fothergill of Manchester. See also p. 17 note. An account of the descendants of Alexander Fothergill is contained in *The Thistlethwaite Family*, by Bernard Thistlethwaite, 1910. The offspring of Dr. John Fothergill's brother Joseph will be spoken of in a later chapter.

² *Sedbergh School Register*, 1909, pp. 163, 164. G. Harrison, *Mem. W. Cookworthy*, p. 134.

bound himself as apprentice for seven years ; and that he " his master well and faithfully shall serve ; his secrets shall keep ; taverns he shall not haunt ; at dice, cards, tables, bowls or any other unlawful games he shall not play." B. Bartlett covenants to teach him " the art, trade, mystery or occupation of an apothecary," and to give him " sufficient and enough of meat, drink, washing and lodging." The father is to find " all apparels and other necessities whatsoever," and the consideration money of £50.¹ The young dalesman here showed tokens of his future character, attracting admiration by his sensible conduct and aptness, and profiting by the example of a master who was alike gentlemanly and generous.²

After six of the seven years of his apprenticeship had been spent in compounding medicines and visiting patients, young Fothergill, now at the age of twenty years, took the momentous step of entering for study at the University of Edinburgh. This was in 1734. He aimed to be an apothecary, and sought the fuller training to be found at a university. To him, as a Dissenter, the universities of his own country were, of course, closed ; nor was the medical training there given adapted to his needs. Many of the abler medical students went to study abroad, and took a degree at Paris or at Padua, or especially at Leyden, which was then at the height of its fame under the celebrated Boerhaave.

¹ The deed is preserved at Ackworth School, together with Fothergill's diplomas from Edinburgh University and from the Royal Colleges of Physicians in London and Edinburgh.

² Successful and valued in his profession, Benjamin Bartlett was also a Friend of grave and solid deportment, zealous for the good order of the church. He took part in the ministry for forty years, offering short homilies on practical religion. He was a lover of hospitality and of good men, and Fothergill kept up his friendship with him until his death in 1759 at the age of eighty-one years. See *MS. Testimonies*, ii. 47, Frds. Ref. Lib. Bartlett's son and namesake came to London, where Fothergill introduced him to an apothecary's practice in Red Lion Street : this, when his health declined, he resigned to J. Bogle-French, of whom we shall hear again. Bartlett the younger was a man of different temperament from his father ; an antiquary, learned in ecclesiastical coins and the history of parishes, on which he published works. He was a frequent visitor at Fothergill's house. He died at Hertford in 1787. See *MS. Journal* of Betty Fothergill ; Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, ix. 97 ; B. Bartlett's published works ; W. Scruton, *Pen and Pencil Pictures of Old Bradford*, pp. 210 ff. ; W. Cudworth, *Histories of Bolton and Bowling*, pp. 58 ff. ; *Ext. from Corresp. R. Richardson, M.D.*, p. 192.

His grandfather Hough had left him £120 towards the cost of his education. Receiving £20 of this sum, Fothergill mounted his horse and set off for the northern capital. His journey from Yorkshire occupied three days; he spent 17s. 6d. on the road, and sold his horse at the end for four guineas. In Edinburgh he paid half a crown a week for his lodgings.¹

We may pause here to recall the Edinburgh of those days, its famous university and the rise of its medical school.

The Edinburgh of 1734 was little like the Scottish capital of to-day. The castle, indeed, upon its rocky height, Salisbury Crags, and Arthur's Seat, and the sombre halls of Holyrood were then as now, but there were no spacious streets and monuments; the old town, with its narrow "gates" between tall houses, its wynds and closes, formed the Edinburgh in which Fothergill pursued his studies. The Porteous Riot, which took place during his stay, showed how much of savagery still lingered in the Scottish character. None of the medical buildings of that time seem to be now standing. The Infirmary had lately been opened in a small house near the old university. Edinburgh University dates from 1583, but the medical school came long after, and was young in years when Fothergill entered it. Its history presents a succession of great figures. The first of these is that of the elder Pitcairne, a man of vast acquirements. He was trained in law and mathematics before he touched medicine; a poet, a brilliant writer, a man of masterfulness and mockery; a free-thinker in the most religious of capitals.² Pitcairne came back

¹ He was careful of his small means: 11s. per lb. was paid for tea, 1s. 6d. for sugar, and 3d. for butter: gloves cost 1s. 3d., shoes 4s. 6d., and a hat 7s. 6d. These details are quoted by J. H. Tuke from a little account book, since deposited at Ackworth School.

² "Ecce Mathematicum, vatem, medicumque, sophumque,
Pitcairnum magnum haec urnula parva tenet."

Epitaph on Dr. Archibald Pitcairne's tomb in Greyfriars' Churchyard, Edinburgh. Pitcairne (b. 1652, d. 1713) belonged to a Fifeshire family, which yielded at a later date the two Pitcairns, uncle and nephew, who adorned the

from Leyden in 1693 fired with the ambition to set up a school in Edinburgh that should rival that of the Dutch university. He saw that such a school must be founded upon the study of anatomy, and he put forward Menteith and others year after year in attempts to induce the town to give the needed facilities. But all his efforts were in vain. It was not until the Monros came on the scene that anything was done. Alexander Monro was the first of the three teachers of that name, who between them held the chair of anatomy at Edinburgh in continuity for the long period of 126 years. He was trained by his father from his youth to take this place, and had every advantage which money or influence could obtain. He learned anatomy of Cheselden and Douglas in London; at Leyden he studied under Albinus, and was a favourite pupil of Boerhaave. His father's efforts collected fifty-seven students to hear his first course of lectures, which he delivered in the old Surgeons' Hall in 1720, when he was but twenty-two years of age; he made his mark as a teacher at the very outset, and he taught an ever-increasing class for thirty-eight years. "He had to do a new thing in Edinburgh, to teach anatomy and to provide for the study of it in a half-civilised and politically-disturbed country; he had to gather in students, to persuade others to join with him in teaching, and to get an infirmary built. All this he did"; and thus "this great and good man earned the title of father of the Edinburgh Medical School."¹

When Fothergill came to Edinburgh in 1734 the school had been organised for scarcely ten years. Around Monro had been gathered five members of the College of Physicians—Rutherford, Alston, Sinclair, Plummer, and Innes. All these had been, like Monro, pupils of Boerhaave, so that the school owed its parentage to the *alma*

staff of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, as well as that young midshipman, by the irony of fate the most famous of the four, whose name was given to Pitcairn's Island.

¹ Struthers, *Historical Sketch of the Edinburgh Anatomical School*, p. 26. See also Dr. Norman Moore's *Fitzpatrick Lectures*, 1906; and Dalziel, *History of the University of Edinburgh*.

mater of Leyden ; Boerhaave was " the master " in their discourses. Some of them lectured in Latin and some in English.¹

Fothergill has celebrated the virtues of his teachers in his essay on the character of Dr. Alexander Russell, his fellow-student. He tells of Sinclair, who lectured on the Theory of Physic ; of his noble simplicity of manners, the elegance and precision of his discourse, and the modesty of his opinions. John Rutherford, professor (with the learned Innes) of the practice of Medicine, lived to an old age to enjoy the praise and esteem of his pupils. He was the father of Dr. Daniel Rutherford, and Sir Walter Scott was his grandson. Chemistry was allotted to the gentle Plummer, a man of universal knowledge, so that, says Fothergill, " the great Maclaurin always appealed to him, as to a living library." Alston presided over Botany and Materia Medica, the learned and indefatigable Alston, whose enthusiasm in his subject probably had much to do with his young pupil's life-long devotion to those sciences. " What care " the lecturer showed " to separate truth from falsehood ! How cautious in advancing speculation ! How laborious in experiment, and chaste in forming his conclusions ! "

But Monro was the acknowledged leader of this gifted band ; and it was his fame as a teacher of anatomy that drew men together from all parts of the three kingdoms, and even from the plantations, as the colonies were then called. He won, says Fothergill, " the grateful regard of those who studied under him," by " his singular attention to instruct and encourage his pupils, as well as to act the part of a parent to every stranger."

Fothergill's own abilities were not unmarked by his teacher, and it was by Monro's encouragement that he came to alter his aim in life, and to seek the status of a physician, remaining at Edinburgh long enough to take his degree.² He was a most diligent student. It was his

¹ Manuscript notes of the Lectures of Monro, Rutherford, and Alston are in the Library of the Medical Society of London.

² According to Lettsom, Monro availed of Fothergill's assistance in preparing the fourth edition of his work on the Bones, published in 1746.

practice to write out in Latin the notes he had taken of the lectures, then to refer to his medical books, ancient and modern, and finally to set down his own remarks on the subject. He also kept at this time a Latin diary, and the following entry aptly sums up a social visit to one of the professors, who had occupied the evening by talking of his adventures as a student: *multa dixit, non multa didicimus* (much he said, not much we learned).

A small medical society was formed amongst the students in the year 1734, and carried on with much activity. Fothergill joined it in its second year, and amongst his fellow-members there were several who became his intimate and life-long friends, especially William Cuming, George Cleghorn, and Alexander Russell. Of these, and of the society (now the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh), we shall hear more later.

Fothergill took his degree in 1736, with an inaugural thesis, *De Emeticorum Usu*, an elaborate treatise, garnished with numerous quotations, alike from Hippocrates and Celsus, from Sydenham and Boerhaave. These were the early days of the school, and it was but a picked few of the students that obtained the medical degree. Of the four friends Fothergill was the only one to be capped at the close of their studies.

After taking his degree, Fothergill came to London; the journey by sea then took from six to nine days, and cost 1 to 1½ guineas. On arrival he entered himself at St. Thomas's Hospital for a course of medical practice under Dr., afterwards Sir Edward Wilmot, son-in-law to Dr. Mead. This seems to have occupied him for about two years. In his quiet lodging, although he soon came to know many of the Friends, he had much time for solitary thought. His father wrote words of caution and solicitude as to the temptations of the town, but Fothergill, whose "sweet innocent carriage and deportment" is noted at this time, had a soberness and wisdom unusual at his years.¹ He was weighing the purpose of life,

¹ Fothergill lodged at Robert Bell's in Gracechurch Street in 9th month 1738. His father sends by him his kind respects to the "Syrian Prince"

not without rigorous self-examination, and viewing the possible courses that lay before him, and in these and in all that he did he sought for Divine guidance.

Meanwhile a few patients came to him; he bought books on botany, chemistry, and travel, and carried on studies in the *materia medica* and in minerals and salts. He kept up correspondence with his old teachers in Edinburgh, and with his college friends; he wrote also often to his family.

When his two years' hospital training in London was over, Fothergill had to decide where to establish himself as a physician. He was a very loyal Friend and favourably known in the society, then a large and prosperous community in the metropolis, and including already some medical members. He had drawings to the American colonies, where his father had laboured, and where he already had ties of friendship. His constitution was not at this time robust, and he did not himself look forward to a long course of life. In the end he concluded to remain in the city of London.

Fothergill had long wished to pay a visit to the continent of Europe, such as was customary as part of the training of a physician. The death of Boerhaave in 1738 had damped his zeal for studying at Leyden, but in the summer of 1740 an opportunity came to him for making a tour in company with some Friends. They visited Brabant and the Low Countries, including Liège, celebrated for its long siege, Spa, and Aix-la-Chapelle, where he observed the mineral waters, "and made some experiments upon them—common ones indeed, for want of suitable apparatus." They also travelled to Leyden, where he met Gronovius, and to Amsterdam, and on the Zuyder Zee, and later passed through part of Northern Germany to Bremen, where Fothergill was much interested in the cave under the cathedral with its dry mummified human bodies. During the journey they came into some

visiting London, who, with his men, was to be heard of at "George Thompson's, at the Quakers' Meeting House in the Savoy." *MS. Letter* in the hands of Miss Fothergill of Darlington; see also J. H. Tuke, pp. 12, 13.

contact with a new religious movement in Germany, that of the (Moravian) Brethren, but Fothergill was disappointed in its professors; their imaginations had been beforehand, he thought, and gone beyond what they knew from experience; moreover, they were too full of compliments to one another for the taste of the young Quaker.¹

¹ See part of Fothergill's letter in elegant Latin to W. Cuming, 1740, in *The Works of John Fothergill, M.D.*, by J. C. Lettsom, iii. p. xvi; *MS. Letter to I. Pemberton*, 28. 1. 1741, Coll. Phys. Phila.; *Mem. S. Fothergill*, p. 82.

Emma Fothergill (sister of Dr. W. E. Fothergill, p. 10 note) married Elbert S. Clarke: these, with their son John Fothergill Clarke (died 1917) have done much pioneer missionary work among the Bantu nations of southern Africa.

CHAPTER III

OUTLINE OF FOTHERGILL'S LIFE IN LONDON

Have I done worthy work ? Be love's the praise !
The world is used to have its business done
On other grounds, find great effects produced
For power's sake, fame's sake, motives in men's mouth
So, good ; but let my low ground shame their high !
Truth is the strong thing. Let man's life be true !
And love's the truth of mine. Time prove the rest !

R. BROWNING.

ON his return to London in the year 1740 Fothergill took a house, No. 2 White Hart Court, which was situated in the northern angle between Lombard Street and Gracechurch Street. Here stood in those days a famous meeting-house of the Friends, and around it houses of merchants and others belonging to the society ; in one of them, that of Henry Gouldney, George Fox died in 1691. Fothergill paid in 1748 a rent of £45 for his dwelling-house.¹ The place has now long been covered by tall city offices.

Fothergill had now entered on the career of a London physician. An outline will here be given of the chief events in his busy life. Most of these will be again referred to in later chapters, where his medical activities, his friendships, and his scientific interests will be spoken of in more detail, as well as his influence in his own Society and his relations with the American provinces.

It was not long before business came to the young physician, though the returns were small for some years. He received 105 guineas in fees in the year 1740, and expended £104, including £44 for the tour abroad. Whilst

¹ W. Beck, *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, p. 146.



*Dr John Fothergill
from the painting by William Hogarth*

at St. Thomas's Hospital his kindness to the patients had won him their regard, and the poor now sought him out, bringing him, not indeed money, but experience and some repute. He was very considerate of their needs, and often traversed long distances in the outskirts of London to visit them, taking no fee. This kindness to the poor he continued throughout his life, even when overpressed with the claims of other patients. He reaped a full reward—more than that which has been attributed to him in the saying: "I climbed on the backs of the poor to the pockets of the rich."

It was customary then for the apothecaries who attended cases of sickness frequently to call in a physician, and when the patient could afford the fees the physician would continue to visit daily or at intervals, meeting the apothecary on each occasion. Such visits formed probably the main part of Dr. Fothergill's practice, besides chamber work at his own house. He obtained the licence of the Royal College of Physicians of London in 1744, and ten years later was elected, at the instance of Dr. John Rutherford, then President of the College of Physicians of Edinburgh, to be an honorary Fellow of that body. It may have been his preoccupations in other ways or the shyness of the young Quaker which hindered him at first from applying for public appointments; later on his private practice was too large to admit of it. Whatever the cause he seems to have held no appointments of importance.

Fothergill's character was one that commanded the confidence of his own brethren. He soon took his place in the councils of the Friends in London, and had an increasing share in guiding their affairs and interests, both British and American.

He had been but a few years in practice when the chief medical opportunity of his life came to him. Epidemics of throat disorder were then not uncommon. What seems to have been a malignant form of scarlatina swept over London in the autumns of 1747 and 1748, and carried off large numbers of persons, especially children, including

members of the highest families. Fothergill made a careful study of the disease and was very successful in its treatment. He found the usual methods of bleeding and purging to be generally harmful, and he laid down instead of these a cordial and supporting regimen with especial use of cinchona bark. He published in 1748 "An Account of the Sore-throat attended with Ulcers." The book was much read and many editions were called for. He stepped at once into fame and increased practice. His skill had become known and valued, he had many consultations in the country around London, and his advice was sought in writing by practitioners in more distant parts, in the British colonies, and other countries.

Thus was Fothergill at thirty-six years of age established in one of the largest physician's practices in the capital. More than thirty years found him still "labouring at the oar." Few men ever lived a busier life. Sixteen or seventeen hours of toil were no uncommon event. "I have not slept these twenty hours," he writes to Dr. Falconer, "and have been in action most of the time." Again, in 1768: "I have not had a moment's respite from intense thought the whole day, but while I get a little abstracted in passing through a crowd from place to place." His sister writes of "the perpetual clamour of people wanting him," and that he was "every night exhausted to the last grain of ability of body and mind." Yet "he seems calm," she says, "and not discontent in the busy scene," though it is "much like the continual hurry of a whirlwind."

An attempt will be made on a later page to state the causes of Fothergill's extraordinary success as a physician. It will be sufficient here to allude to his thorough medical training, his reliance on observation rather than on tradition, and to his emphasis upon diet as a means of cure. His quickness of thought, methodical habits, and constant kindness had also much influence. Fothergill's income was now large; it has, however, probably been exaggerated, and did not really exceed £5000, except in some special years when influenza was prevalent. His

aim in practice was never that of money-getting. Beyond the duty of earning his living, soon in his case fulfilled, his motive was to give help to others. He declined many fees, and, where need seemed to exist, would often offer a gift of his own to meet the cost of medicines or on some other plea which his delicacy suggested. Such secret benevolence became a habit with him, and no one ever knew its extent. Always on the watch for those who needed a helping hand, he gave and he lent largely, and though sometimes deceived, he was not discouraged.

Fothergill never married. He had some drawings to one and another of the young Friends of his circle, but his own standard was so high that he was apt to be disappointed in them; his habitual caution and self-restraint hindered, too, the expression of his feelings. And so it came to pass that the home was a solitary one, save for social intercourse, until his sister, Ann Fothergill, came in 1754 to live with him. She was a plain Friend from the Yorkshire dales, brought up in a narrow circle, and aware of her own deficiencies, but she adapted herself to the place she had to fill in Fothergill's house. Her native shrewdness, good sense, and kindly spirit enabled her to dispense the large hospitalities which her brother loved with wisdom if not with grace, and she won his confidence and gratitude. Most often they had visitors to breakfast, and frequent callers in the day, whose entertainment fell chiefly to her lot. Young men, and those who needed notice and help were especially welcomed, and Fothergill's counsel was sought by many, and on many topics, for he had the faculty of judgment in an eminent degree—disinterested, cool, and often swift. His popularity as a physician, even among the upper ranks of society, was won and kept without any abatement of the ways of the Quaker, for the strict garb, singular language, and unlifted hat were made acceptable by a gentle and tactful manner. He had many friends, and the bond of friendship was to him deep and real. He kept up a correspondence with the comrades of his

student days, and when Cleghorn came home from Minorca in 1750, and Russell from Aleppo in 1755, he welcomed them, gave them his aid and advice, and in each case induced them to publish the results of their observations. Dr. Cuming of Dorchester, another fellow-student, a man of lovable character, was an intimate correspondent for nearly fifty years.

His chief friend outside the medical profession was David Barclay, a Quaker merchant of London, who had married a young patient of Fothergill's. Barclay was a man of a certain type of nobility, physical and mental—philanthropic, even-tempered, and sincere. Fothergill and he worked much together in later years.

As he grew into middle life, Fothergill's scientific tastes found more and more employment. He wrote to his friends in America for rattlesnakes, tortoises, and new plants, and compiled papers for the Royal Society on the origin of Amber and on Manna. He got sea-captains to bring him strange things from China, from Borneo, from Hindustan. He collected corals, shells, and insects, and in course of time his cabinets became famous among the learned. But beyond all these it was the pursuit of botany that especially attracted him. Here his friend Peter Collinson was the means of fostering Fothergill's taste. Collinson, a Quaker like himself, was a naturalist of keen instincts, and he and his American friend, John Bartram, were the means of enriching English gardens with many new trees and shrubs. Following his example, Fothergill planted a large botanical garden at Upton in 1762, upon which he bestowed much care and expense. His collectors searched for new plants in many lands, and his garden and hothouses were stocked with thousands of species of hardy and exotic plants. Fothergill was a great collector; but mere rarity had little attraction for him; he sought for products that would be useful as food, as medicine, or in the arts, or that were of beauty in themselves. He became a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1753, and ten years later, at the invitation of some members of the Royal Society, he offered himself

and was elected as a Fellow of that body.¹ He was chosen a member of the American Philosophical Society in 1770.

Fothergill's labours in London became so continuous that he felt the need of some yearly respite. Travelling was then slow and arduous ; people but seldom left their homes except to visit their relations, or in search of health at one of the spas. Few facilities existed for a trip abroad, or even to different parts of the kingdom. The rich would rent a house in the country, and retreat thither occasionally, journeying in their own carriages, and staying at the numerous inns on the road. Such a plan came into Fothergill's mind. His aim was quiet ; therefore he sought a place too far away from London to be followed, where he had no acquaintance, where the roads were not good, and there was nothing to attract the "curious idler." It must be in a healthy country situation, where he could ride out daily on horseback, and near to a Friends' Meeting, and to a market-town.

He was attracted to Cheshire, his mother's county, and to the neighbourhood of Warrington, the residence of two of his brothers. After some search he heard of a country house, Lea Hall, in this district, four miles distant from the modern railway town of Crewe. He took the place, and spared no pains or expense to make the mansion and grounds comfortable and pleasant.

To Lea Hall Fothergill retired for about two months each autumn from the year 1765 to 1780, the year of his death. But he was not idle in this secluded spot. "Hither I bring down," he told a friend, "a great cargo of letters"; and many more soon followed him. His correspondents were in most parts of the civilised world. It was here that much of his writing work was done in botany, in philanthropy, and in politics, and especially in the concerns of his own Society. Here, too, he com-

¹ The nomination form recommends him for his extensive learning and abilities, his "application of many years to the improvement of Natural History," and "his constant readiness to promote every other branch of science." It is signed by A. Russell, P. Collinson, Gowin Knight, (Sir) John Pringle, John Ellis, C. Morton, etc.

posed many of his medical papers. He discouraged practice, and made it a rule to take no fees whilst he was away, leaving his wealthy patients to the care of others. But he devoted one day in each week to give his advice gratis to the poor, attending for the purpose at the old royal borough town of Middlewich, a few miles away, where he sat to prescribe for patients—it is said, at the White Bear Inn. Such indeed was his reputation that, on his four or five days' journey to and from his country seat, his coach was often beset by apothecaries and importunate persons seeking his advice. He was obliged at some places on the route to sit at a table with an amanuensis and deal with a crowd of poor sick people.

Lea Hall, a roomy brick mansion of Queen Anne's date, was at one time occupied by the Lowndes family. It was surrounded by a moat, and stood in well-stocked grounds, amidst plantations, orchard, and fruit garden. From the roof a wide extent of country was visible. The house has undergone changes in later times: the fine oak panelling of the lofty rooms has been painted over, but a noble staircase remains. Secret panels in some of the chambers formerly opened into hiding-places; one of the tall chimneys contained such a cachette. Much of the moat has been filled, and the orchard is gone; the garden, too, which Fothergill planted with duplicates from Upton is no longer kept up: rare species supposed to have escaped from his cultivation were at one time found in the neighbourhood.¹

It was then unusual for physicians to take long holidays, and some who had attempted it found their practice much diminished on their return. But in Fothergill's case it was not so; he came back to town and was at once busy.

In 1767 he moved out of the city to Harpur Street,

¹ Lea Hall was at a later date in the possession of Sir J. Verdin, Bart., and now belongs to the United Alkali Company. The author is indebted to the kindness of Mrs. E. B. Harlock and to Mr. C. F. Lawrence, both of Middlewich, for information. See also *Works*, iii. p. lvii; *Mem. S. Fothergill*, pp. 453 ff.; Tuke, pp. 34-37; Letter, J. F. to J. Pemberton, 16. 9. 1768, Etting MSS.

Bloomsbury, then a place of elegant resort. A notice of this house will be given in another chapter.

Amongst those who frequented his home at this period, and to whom Fothergill gave counsel and help, were three young doctors, trained at Edinburgh—Lettsom, Gilbert Thompson, and Anthony Fothergill—a fuller notice of whose careers is reserved to a later page. Thompson's tastes were somewhat literary and academic ; his work as a physician was hindered by a natural diffidence. Anthony Fothergill, only distantly connected with his namesake, was scientific, and had afterwards considerable repute as a physician at Bath. Lettsom entered on practice in the city of London under the ægis of Fothergill, soon after the latter had moved to the west. He had a ready flow of conversation, and an equally facile pen ; was genial, generous, and humane ; and enjoyed for many years the fame of a popular physician and philanthropist. Lettsom founded in 1773 the Medical Society of London, one of the earliest of those associations which have done so much to promote general medicine.

Fothergill himself had to do, as we shall see later, with two small societies, more private in their character. One, the Medical Society (of Physicians), held a very useful place from about 1752 onwards, receiving and publishing essays on medical topics derived from both home and foreign sources. Fothergill contributed many of these papers, which were chiefly clinical descriptions of disorders hitherto ill-recognised ; those on angina pectoris, sick headache, and tic douloureux are among the best known. The second society was the Society of (Licentiate) Physicians, originally formed in 1767 to defend the interests of the Licentiates, but papers were afterwards read before it.

His medical reputation was now universally acknowledged. In 1774 he was proposed by Lord North to the king for appointment as one of the royal physicians. The king replied, " I doubt whether a Quaker can hold an office, but if he can I have no objection to appointing

Doctor Fothergill; I therefore desire you will find whether the thing is practicable.”¹ Probably the oath stood in the way, or it may be that Fothergill's modesty declined the honour. When the Société Royale de Médecine was formed at Paris in 1776, Fothergill was elected a Foreign Associate, a distinction conveyed in a cordial letter from Vicq d'Azyr.²

In 1768, at the request of the Russian Embassy in London, Fothergill recommended his friend Dr. Thomas Dimsdale to go to St. Petersburg to inoculate the Empress Catherine and her son for the small-pox. Dimsdale carried out this mission with conspicuous success, and came home a baron of the Empire, loaded with riches and other rewards. A narrative of his visit, published for the first time from private letters, is given in another chapter.

His jealousy for the honour of his profession was the means of leading Fothergill into a dispute with a fellow-quaker, Dr. Leeds, which brought much trouble to his sensitive mind during the years 1771 and 1772. This will be noticed later.

The influence and repute of Fothergill enabled him to pursue his philanthropic aims with ever fuller effect. He aided John Howard in the reform of prisons. With his friend John Hustler he promoted the making of canals; and he thought and wrote much on measures to ensure the cheapness of food. Many papers from his pen were published in the journals on the better government of the metropolis, advocating reforms, some of which he lived to see adopted.

One of the chief motives of Fothergill's life was the increase of knowledge. Truth was dear to him in every form, and he had much confidence in the spread of knowledge as a factor in human progress. He set a high value upon literature as a means to this end, and made many presents of books to libraries. Although in his busy life he wrote no considerable works, he had a silent part in

¹ *Corresp. of Geo. III. with Lord North*, i. 202.

² The original is in the possession of the family. *Works*, iii. p. cxxxviii.

the issue of not a few books of scientific, topographical, or religious character. He initiated some of these, he gave his counsel to their authors, he revised the proofs, and in several instances he supplied a part or the whole of the expense. Amongst the works thus aided may be counted the large volume of *Illustrations of the Sexual System of Linnæus*, by John Mueller, drawn chiefly from the originals in Fothergill's garden; Edwards' *Birds of Great Britain*, and Drury's *Entomology*. Other volumes, connected with his own Society, included the writings of William Penn, and the Baskerville edition of Barclay's *Apology*. He was most unwilling to have books dedicated to himself, but all his efforts could not always prevent it.

Fothergill's part in the issue of Purver's Bible must have a fuller notice. Anthony Purver was a poor school-master of Andover, who had spent thirty years in making a new translation of the Bible, but could not get it published. Fothergill examined the work and approved it, paid the author £1000 for the copyright, and had it printed at his own expense, revising the sheets himself. Purver was a man of uncommon memory and great industry, rising at four o'clock daily, and devoting his days to study. He taught himself Greek, Hebrew, and several other languages, and read his sources well, including Rabbinical and classical writers. A blameless man and a lover of truth, his manners were simple and his spirit reverent. In his translation he tried to keep close to the text, but to give the sense in plain modern speech, pleading that the Scriptures needed fresh rendering from time to time in the growing living language of men. This was somewhat daring doctrine, since the recognised versions were accounted almost sacred, and Purver, who had joined the Friends, had no church or collegiate standing. Following his own principle he discarded many old-fashioned words, such as *ye*, *yea* and *nay*, *verily*, *twain*, *bondman*, *apparelled*, etc., giving instead their modern equivalents. It is curious to note that our Revisers of 1884, coming more than a century later, have nevertheless retained these older forms. In

a good many of his improved renderings, however, he anticipated the Revisers ; and he even mixed his tenses in a literal following of the Greek text as they have done. In the Gospel of John he translated " Son of Man " by " The Man." But Purver's lack of literary training rendered his style uncouth ; so that his sentences ran uneasily, with little euphony or poetic rhythm. It was, however, a courageous and laborious attempt to frame a truer version in the language of the day, and it may have suggested many renderings to later translators. The work was well printed in two large folio volumes in 1764. Fothergill exerted himself to circulate it, giving copies to many of his friends on both sides of the Atlantic.¹

Another work issued under Fothergill's auspices, and with a Preface from his hand, consisted of some letters on Electricity by an ingenious printer of Philadelphia, afterwards famous as Dr. Benjamin Franklin. This was in 1751, and it led to a friendship with Franklin, who when he came to London in 1757 was advised to obtain Fothergill's counsel in his negotiations with the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania. Franklin remained in London, excepting for an interval of two years, until 1775, and, as will be more fully related, was on intimate terms with his Quaker physician.

Fothergill was a Whig of decided opinions, and favoured the cause of freedom, having close ties and sympathies with the American colonists. During the last fifteen years of the Quaker domination in Pennsylvania, which came to an end in 1756, Fothergill had an important part as one of the leaders in the home church, being also in frequent touch with the government. He was able to look at the cause of the growing provinces as a whole with an understanding eye, and he saw that the

¹ " A New and Literal Translation of the Old and New Testaments, with Notes, Critical and Explanatory. By Anthony Purver, London, 1764." Purver was born in 1702, married Rachel Cotterell of Frenchay in 1738, and died in 1777. He addressed " A poem to the Praise of God," to his wife ; it was printed in 1748 ; as well as " Counsel to Friends' Children " in rhyme. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.* ; *Friends' Magazine*, 1831, ii. 49 ; Tuke, p. 41. Also MS. Accounts of A. Purver, in a *Letter from Jacob Bell*, 1796, *Account* [by J. Gurney Bevan], and in *Biog. Mem.* by E. Backhouse, iv. 469 ; all at Frds. Ref. Lib.

prospects of liberty in Britain itself were bound up with it. During the momentous years which led up to the War of Separation Fothergill watched closely the course of events. His practice took him often amongst those in authority. In the winter of 1774, when things were drifting towards a rupture, the king and government blindly refusing all concession, Fothergill with his friend Barclay made a last effort before Franklin left England to negotiate a settlement. The triumvirate met again and again at Fothergill's house, and drew up a scheme of conciliation, which obtained some hearing from the ministry, but was wrecked by its extremer members. Most of its provisions were indeed embodied in an act passed after war had broken out, but it was then too late. A full account of this negotiation is given in the present volume, taken from the original documents, which will be found printed in an Appendix.

Besides his political efforts, Fothergill was able to render good service to medical education in America. What he did for the young men who came to England for study, and how he helped the establishment of the Pennsylvania Medical College, the first institution in America to grant degrees in medicine, will be told in another chapter.

We have thus followed in outline the events of Fothergill's life down to his later years, active as he was in several different fields. In succeeding chapters some of these manifold activities, on his own part and on that of his friends, will be depicted in fuller detail. Finally, some notice will be given of Fothergill's closing years, during which his work for education was consummated by the foundation of Ackworth School.

CHAPTER IV

FOTHERGILL AS A PHYSICIAN—HIS WORK IN THERAPEUTICS

I swear by Apollo the healer and by Æsculapius, that I will use the regimen in aid of the sick to the best of my power and judgment. I will keep away from all hurt and wrong-doing; nor will I ever give a deadly drug to anyone who asks me for it; but with purity and with holiness will I observe my course and follow my art. Whatsoever I may see or hear in the life of men that ought not to be published abroad I will hold secret. And as I fulfil this oath and break it not, may the full enjoyment of my life and art be granted to me, held in honour among all men to the end of time.—Extracts from the "Oath of Hippocrates," fifth century B.C.

If a doctor's life may not be a divine vocation, then no life is a vocation, and nothing is divine.—*Confessio Medici*.

Si les fonctions du médecin sont belles, c'est moins en effet dans les palais et parmi les grandeurs que dans la demeure étroite et mal saine du pauvre. C'est là où l'homme peut secourir l'homme, sans concours et même sans témoins; c'est là où l'on est sûr de trouver des larmes à essuyer, des infortunés à plaindre. Disons-le à la louange des médecins, quel autre ordre de citoyens remplit ces devoirs augustes avec autant de zèle et de courage?—VICQ D'AZYR, *Éloge de Fothergill*.

THE public repute of Fothergill during the latter years of his practice throughout Great Britain and Ireland, in some parts of Europe, and in the North American colonies and the East and West Indies, was probably greater than that of any other London physician. Franklin says that many Quakers crossed the Atlantic on purpose to consult him. His postal address had long been merely "Dr. Fothergill, London."

What were the causes of his extraordinary success in practice? Let us take some personal qualities first. Fothergill was an admirable man of business, orderly and dispatchful, giving no place to delay. This enabled him to carry through work of wide extent and variety without

confusion or disquiet. Then he was gifted with a keen intellect and rapid insight. He soon made up his mind, and, it may be added, he was not apt to change it. This tenacity of opinion, which may have been sometimes ill-advised, is explained by his friend Dr. Percival, who says that Fothergill had come to rely on an intuitive discrimination of diseases, the result of long experience, and that an authoritative expression of his opinion was a necessity of his busy work.¹ So quick indeed was he sometimes as to incur the suspicion of trifling with his patients, but the event showed the wisdom of his counsel. With these qualities was combined a disposition of great kindness, so as to overspread the peculiarity of his address, due to early Quaker training, with a certain engaging sweetness. Severe as his face was, it ever wore a smile for the sick, a "hope-inspiring" smile, which commanded confidence, and called forth new efforts towards recovery.

Although he had constantly to deal with the weak, the wilful, and the wayward among his many clients, yet his own attitude was so charitable and so wise that he never despised their frailties. He resisted the temptations which beset physicians. The sacred art of healing was to him no mere source of lucre. "My only wish," he said, "was to do what little business might fall to my share as well as possible, and to banish all thoughts of practising physic as a money-getting trade with the same solicitude as I would the suggestions of vice or intemperance."² He did not pander to his patients, nor amuse them with dishonest nostrums, far less prey upon the nervous or the confiding. Nor did he want for his reward. "I have not served," he wrote, "an ungenerous or ungrateful public." "To me the world

¹ Pettigrew, *Memoirs of J. C. Lettsom, with his Correspondence*, iii. 394.

² Letter to Lettsom, 1769. He was thankful, so he wrote, to the gracious Preserver, "that kept my mind more attentive to the discharge of my present anxious care for those I visited, than either to the profits or the credit resulting from it." To be kept in such a temper, he added, working with diligence, humility and as in the sight of the God of healing, frees the mind from unavailing distress and disappointment. To the same, 1773. *Works*, iii. p. xxv.

has not frowned ; I courted not its favours nor feared the reverse."

We may turn to a private memoir to learn the impression that he made upon his patients. The doctor's presence, so we are told, " was never waited for above a minute or two beyond the time fixed for his coming. His gentle though firm demeanour calmed sorrow into silence. His penetrating eye and abstracted thought always inspired confidence in his judgment [even] though there might appear not the least prospect of success. To him," the writer continues, " my father spoke of his concerns as to a friend, and of his complaints as to a physician of distinguished skill. On being one day asked whether Dr. Heberden should be called, who was the only senior physician, and consequently the only one who could act with the doctor, he replied, ' No ; my life is in God's hand and Fothergill's.' " She goes on to describe the scene when her father lay dying, how tenderly Fothergill took her mother by the hand, and stroked the daughter's face, as he spoke faltering words of sympathy.¹

In the next place, his medical training had been thorough, grounded as it was upon anatomy, and upon full courses of botany and chemistry, with the best clinical teaching that Edinburgh and London could afford. He knew Hippocrates well, and Aretæus and Celsus, but he was imbued with the spirit of " the great Boerhaave (so he wrote), who did much in the theory of physic, in respect to separating truth from falsehood, certainty from hypothesis " ; *Rationalem quidem puto medicinam esse debere*, he would say, *et instrui ab evidentibus causis*.

In estimating Fothergill's position as a therapist, we may pause to consider the state of that science in his age. A revolution was in progress during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the use of medicines. In few departments of life have the rules of tradition maintained a longer and firmer hold than in the healing art. Pharmacy in the

¹ MS. *Memoirs of Barbara Hoyland*, by herself. Extracts are quoted in the *Journal of Friends' Historical Society*, iii. 131.

earlier century was still dominated by formulæ which had come down in some cases little changed during a thousand or fifteen hundred years. Confections and electuaries, compounded of a multitude of miscellaneous and incongruous substances, were still prescribed as sovereign remedies for the ills of the body. They were often dignified by resounding titles, which had been bestowed by some revered master. Such were the *Diacastorius* and the *Diasatyricon*; the *Athanasia Magna* contained among many other things the liver of a wolf and the horn of a goat or stag; the *Aurea Alexandrina* of Nicholas of Alexandria¹ had sixty-nine ingredients, and the long list of diseases it could cure was crowned by the words *ab omni ventris malo liberat*.

It was from imposture of this kind, grown hoary by age, that Sydenham and Boerhaave and others of the natural school had begun to deliver the medical art, by prescribing a few remedies, chosen rationally, instead of the weird and marvellous compositions of the ancients.

*Felix, simplicibus novit qui tollere morbos ;
Pro quovis morbo est una vel herba satis.*²

But the change took effect slowly: physic was still in some sense a mystery; and the apothecaries taught their pupils in the old ways. The official organs of the art, the pharmacopœias, which became systematised in Fothergill's time and ruled its practice, were loth to part with the old forms. It was not until 1788, eight years after Fothergill's death, that the London College of Physicians at last omitted from its Pharmacopœia the famous *Theriaca Andromachi*, or Venice treacle, with its sixty-five ingredients, including dried vipers; and the *Mithridatium* of Damocras, whose fifty components included the bellies of lizards. Both these relics of poly-pharmacy had come down from before the time of Galen, and it needed all the earnest persuasion of Heberden to effect their omission. For Heberden had shaken himself free of pharmacal fetters; he told Lettsom once that he cared little for the latter's new manuscript of Hippocrates; he would rather know, he said, what men would be thinking 2000 years hence than what they believed 2000 years ago.³

The Edinburgh School had followed Boerhaave in his

¹ The *Sal Sacerdotale* of this thirteenth-century physician was alleged to have been used by the priests in the time of Elijah the prophet.

² Zwelfer, *Pharm. Regia*, 1675, p. 163.

³ *Mem. Lettsom*, iii. 124.

more rational methods, and Fothergill carried forward the change that was in progress, using his own thought, making experiment, and varying his practice with the result. It is true that he did sometimes prescribe both Venice treacle and Mithridate, but it was with a half apology: "Be the mixture of *Conf. Cardiac*. [compounded of strong spices, aromatics, crabs' claws, etc.] never so absurd," he writes, "I give it as a simple medicine." His compositions contained a few well-selected drugs, suitably blended; and as his practice extended, his mode of prescribing was imitated by others and largely adopted. Lettsom hazards the assertion that Fothergill principally contributed to bring about the revolution which replaced multifarious and discordant compounds by such as were elegant and compatible. This claim may be too large, but at any rate he was one of the best prescribers of his century in English medicine, and did much to develop the art on reasonable and natural principles. Some of his formulæ continued to be used after his time.

Fothergill was at home in the vast armoury of vegetable remedies then in use, for he knew them not only in the forms they present in pharmacy, but in many cases also in their natural state, as herbs and trees. In the early years of his practice, whilst he still had time on his hands, he occupied himself with studies in the *Materia Medica*; frequenting the druggists' shops, he explored the crude drugs from which remedies were prepared, and consulted books of travel and sea-captains, even writing to correspondents in distant lands to obtain fuller knowledge. By comparing specimens, and subjecting them to experiment and analysis at his own house, he was able to establish the true nature and source of some ill-known drugs. He wrote many letters to Professor Alston, his old teacher in Edinburgh, on these topics.¹ London at that time possessed few facilities for medical or indeed for any other academic study: the historian must stand

¹ *MSS. Alston*, see Appendix D. Besides the drugs mentioned in the text, Senega, Opobalsamum, Labdanum, and Camphor were particularly noticed.

amazed that this great and wealthy city possessed no university till the year 1837, and then one that merely held examinations for degrees. So long the two ancient English universities with their formal courses dominated the field. Fothergill saw the need of medical teaching in London, and he proposed to himself to give lectures on *Materia Medica* in its relation to general medicine. During several years he made preparations for this purpose, and formed a fine collection to illustrate the subject ; but his time became otherwise filled, so that in the end he abandoned the project, and presented his collection to his old college at Edinburgh.

His investigations of several drugs formed the subject of papers. Thus he brought before the Royal Society in 1744 an account of a specimen of Persian *Manna* derived from a prickly shrub, and discussed, with the help of references to Greek writers and modern travellers, the origin of the drug ; describing also the method of obtaining it in Italy and Sicily as an exudation from the bark of species of ash-tree.¹

In 1756 Fothergill introduced the astringent gum now known as *Kino* to the medical profession ; it was the dried juice of a tree (*Pterocarpus*) growing on the river Gambia in Africa. The story of his chance meeting with a specimen, and his search for more, shows how keen was his interest in all remedies that promised to be of use.² *Catechu* had been brought from Japan in the previous century, but was erroneously thought to be an earth, and was known under the name of *Terra Japonica*. Fothergill showed in 1773, by evidence sent him from Behar in Hindostan, that it was an extract of the wood of a species of acacia. He proposed to send the

¹ *Observations on the Manna Persicum*, *Phil. Trans.* xliii. 86, with additions in the *Abridgement* ; *Works*, i. 257 ; *MSS. Alston*. Manna, a mild sweetmeat-like laxative, a favourite with children, is now disused in England, and was omitted from the British Pharmacopœia in 1898. It was still a familiar object on the medicine shelves fifty years ago.

² *A Letter to the Medical Society concerning an Astringent Gum brought from Africa*. Fothergill called it *Gummi Rubrum astringens Gambiense*. *Medical Observations and Inquiries*, i. 358 ; *Works*, ii. 19 ; Cullen, *Materia Medica*, 1789, ii. 43 ; Fluckiger and Hanbury, *Pharmacographia*, p. 170. It was at first confused with Dragon's Blood, which is an inert resin from various trees, no longer used in medicine ; and with Gum Senegal, a yellowish-red acacia gum. The name *Gummi rubrum* was later applied to the red gum obtained from Eucalyptus bark (*Kino Eucalypti*, B.P. 1914), introduced by Sir Ranald Martin as a powerful astringent.

plant for cultivation to the West Indian Islands, where he thought it would flourish; this seems to have been done, for these islands are now the chief source of the drug.¹

Winter's Bark is the product of a beautiful evergreen tree, *Drimys Winteri* Forst., of the Magnolia order, which grows on the shores of the Straits of Magellan. It was first obtained by Winter, one of Drake's captains, in 1578, and was used by him as a remedy for scurvy. But it was a rare drug: *Canella* and other barks were generally substituted for it. Fothergill obtained some of the genuine bark in 1768, with a branch of a tree. Ehret drew it for him; Solander described it, and Dr. M. Morris analysed its properties—those of an astringent tonic with an aromatic bitter taste. It is said to be still much used in Brazil in cases of diarrhœa and debility. Fothergill tried to introduce the tree into England, and offered £100 to the captain who should bring a living plant. It now flourishes in some parts of Ireland.²

Fothergill took some pains to obtain Sassafras, the product of a handsome North American tree, a species of laurel with curious variable leaves, and used it as a warm aromatic diaphoretic. It is an ingredient of the compound decoction of sarsaparilla. He also exerted himself to ensure the proper drying and preparation of Turkey rhubarb, which had been naturalised in England by Dr. John Hope of Edinburgh, with whom he had corresponded for many years.³ That violent purgative Elaterium, now almost disused, was extracted by a secret process from the squirting cucumber. Fothergill took much pains to search this out, and at length by patient experiment discovered the method of preparing the drug.

In the growing science of chemistry, too, he took a keen interest, and was able to make a more intelligent use of mineral salts and acids in his practice than had been usual.⁴ He sought to apply chemical principles to

¹ *An Account of the Tree producing the Terra Japonica*, with a good drawing and botanical description. *Med. Obs. & Inq.* v. 148; *Works*, ii. 191, iii. p. xlvii; Fluckiger and Hanbury, p. 240. The drug was classed among *Terræ Medicamentosæ* in the *Lond. Pharm.* of 1721. See also Letter from A. Keir, Bengal, 1753, in MSS. Alston.

² *Some Account of the Cortex Winteranus*, etc., read 1773; *Med. Obs. & Inq.* v. 41; *Works*, ii. 163, iii. p. xlvii note; Fluck. & Hanb. p. 17. Sir F. W. Moore, Keeper of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Glasnevin, kindly informs me that there are plants in these gardens, some of them out of doors, and that the Winter's Bark flowers freely each year in Wicklow as a hardy tree, 30 feet in height.

³ *Works*, iii. pp. 1, lxi; *Mem. Lettsom*, iii. 260.

⁴ One of his earliest papers, contributed to the *Edinburgh Medical Essays and Observations* in 1736, discusses the methods of obtaining saline substances

mineral waters, and his letters abound in directions for the use of those of Buxton, Bristol, Tilbury, or Scarborough. It seems that he was less fond of Bath, although he considered it helpful in two types of gout. One of his early but unfulfilled aims was an examination of all the waters to be found near London, with experiments to demonstrate their nature and kinds. He thought there was a "slight calcareous stypticity" in the Bristol and Buxton waters which was carried into the remotest parts of the system. Here are his directions to a gouty patient at Buxton: "If the pain goes quite off, go into the water without fear. Do not stay long; be at the expense of a chair to bring thee back to thy lodgings, and get for a quarter of an hour into a warm bed, not to sweat, but to be thoroughly dry." During a short stay at Buxton in 1779, he was able to introduce important improvements at the Spa, especially in the provision of private baths, and in setting up a few baths capable of being warmed to any temperature required.

Fothergill used Antimony with some confidence. It may be worth while, apropos of his part in the story, to recall the history of this remedy. In the form of the black sulphide (Stibnite) antimony was well known to the ancients, whose fashionable women, including queen Jezebel, used it for painting their eyelashes; it was also famous as the basis of *collyria* for the eyes. It was not much given internally until near the year 1600 when the *Currus Triumphalis Antimonii* of Basil Valentine brought it into note. The author of this mystical and rhapsodical treatise thunders in the holiest of names against the ignorance of the doctors, proclaims antimony as a remedy for all ills which can happen to the human body, and calls upon those who aspire to knowledge to peruse his writings, which will render his name immortal. He shows, however, some chemical acquirements, and describes the methods of preparation of the salts of the metal. A hot controversy arose at this time about antimony, whether, being branded as a poison, it should be given as a remedy, and the literature

from tartar (the crust deposited by wine), and describes the proper preparation of *Terra Foliata Tartari* or *Sal Diureticum* (Potassium Acetate), which he found useful as a mild cathartic. This drug attained much repute during his period. *Remarks on the Neutral Salts of Plants, etc.*, *Med. Essays*, v. 147; *Works*, i. 241; Colborne, *Eng. Dispensatory*, 1753, pp. 137-139; *MSS. Alston*, p. 57.

of the subject was large. The Faculty of Medicine in Paris, no doubt espousing the official Galenist view against the new chemists or alchemists, prohibited in 1566 the use of the metal as a drug; and graduates of Heidelberg University were required, it is said, to take an oath that they would never prescribe it. It won its way nevertheless in face of all opposition, and in the eighteenth century its preparations were in high esteem and "in copious use." *Antimonium Sulphuratum*, nearly equivalent to the "Kermes mineral," was a constituent of the well-known Plummer's pill. "James's powder," long a private nostrum of Dr. R. James (who died in 1776), had a great reputation as a febrifuge and diaphoretic: the *Pulvis Antimonii Co.* (P.L. 1851, mainly Antimonious oxide) was an imitation of it.

Fothergill used principally the unwashed calx or diaphoretic antimony, a mixture of antimoniate and antimonite of potash, and a preparation of very uncertain strength: it was in consequence omitted from the later formularies of the century. He prescribed it together with aloes, scammony, and extract of colocynth. This combination was known for generations after as "Fothergill's pill."¹ He treated hooping-cough with tartar emetic, giving gr. $\frac{1}{16}$ - $\frac{1}{8}$ daily in the forenoon to empty the stomach, and a smaller dose at night, with nitre and contrayerva, as a diaphoretic. Under this treatment, with light diet, he claims that the cough became less frequent, and after a time less violent.² But his

¹ Beasley, *Druggists' Receipt Book*, 1857; Christison, *Dispensatory*, 1848. At other times Fothergill combined the calx of antimony with aloes and myrrh, or aloes alone. Another favourite pill is thus ordered:

R Pil. Rufi [Aloes et Myrrh].
 Pil. Ecphract. [A deobstruent pill, containing aloes, aromatics, rhubarb, salt of steel, etc.] āā Diss.
 Sapon. Venet. [Castile soap] ℥i.
 Ol. Cinnam. gt. vi.
 m. ft. pil. xxx. capiat ii vel iii omni nocte.

Amongst other prescriptions of his is one for equal parts of magnesia and sulphur, with a few drops of oil of caraway, to be taken nightly in warm milk and water. *Vinum chalybeatum* he often ordered, in a draught with aromatics or peppermint. See prescriptions printed in Fothergill's *Works*: others in original MS. at Ackworth School, and in the hands of J. J. Green and the Author. A poultice is to be made of rye-meal 1 lb., salt 2 oz., and barm 4 oz., kneaded with warm water. Weak eyes are to be steamed with an infusion of rosemary and lavender flowers. Enterprising druggists long traded on his reputation.

² A Letter relative to the Cure of the Chin-Cough, to the Medical Society in London, read 1767; *Med. Obs. & Inq.* iii. 319; *Works*, ii. 43. Dr. M. Morris in a paper read at the previous meeting advocated castor and the bark. Excepting country air no remedy of proved efficacy was known: "respiring

chief use for antimony was in chronic distempers, perhaps especially in plethoric conditions, where it quieted the circulation, and acted too as an eliminant. This mode of action came under the term "alterative," and as such continued to inspire faith in the medical mind until far on in the next century.

In the meantime Rasori (1799), Louis and the French School had brought antimony into use in the treatment of inflammations. Blood-letting had begun to lose its hold, and this depressant drug took in a great degree its place, and gave better results. In the earlier half of the nineteenth century, the treatment of pneumonia and of cerebral and other sthenic inflammation by means of tartar emetic held full sway among the best practitioners. Many believed that it cut short these diseases: Sir T. Watson thought it very valuable; according to Graves it might save life. The remedy had a strange attraction for some minds. Dr. Archibald Billing (physician to the London Hospital from 1822 to 1845) was an enthusiastic believer in antimony: it was a "heal all" in his practice. Trousseau explained its use in pneumonia by its toxic action on the heart, diminishing the quantity of blood sent to the lungs, and so giving relative repose to those organs. But medical opinion at length turned. Thus T. K. Chambers' experience (1863) led him to dwell on the risks of antimony: it lowered the vitality of the patient; and was, he said, a poison in pneumonia. Its use in such disorders is nearly extinct to-day, and for the most part antimony is now neglected, save for its occasional employment, in the form of the wine, in some inflammatory skin diseases, and in the respiratory catarrhs of children; as well as in veterinary practice.

From this disuse the drug may probably again be rescued, for Professor Cushny showed in 1907 that it has the property in common with arsenic, but more efficiently, of destroying the trypanosome of sleeping sickness, even when the remedy is much diluted. This observation is important, since this protozoal organism has much likeness to the spirochæte of syphilis. In 1913 Tsuzuki of Japan recorded a series of successful results from the use of antimony in cases of this latter disease, and Spanish observers have since given it in phagedænic chancre. It has recently been found of use in Kala-azar and has been tried in cerebro-spinal fever. The empirical use of antimony by Fothergill and others in chronic

the rank atmosphere of a goat or a fox" was sometimes tried. *Med. Obs. & Inq.* iii. 281. Pereira (1839) used tartar emetic.

conditions, due no doubt many of them to infections, and the long repute of Plummer's pill in old syphilitic and other cases, bid fair to obtain a rational justification.¹

¹ On the use of antimony by the ancients see 2 Kings ix. 30; Is. liv. 11, R.V. marg.; Jer. iv. 30; Ezek. xxiii. 40. The name of Job's third daughter, *Keren-happuch*, signifies "Horn of Eye-paint." The "eye-salve" of Rev. iii. 18 is thought by Ramsay (*Letters to the Seven Churches*, pp. 419, 429, and note) to refer to the *Collyria sicca* made from Phrygian powder, for which, he says, the medical school at Laodicea was famous, and which not improbably contained antimony. See Galen, *De Sanitate Tuenda*, vi. 12, ed. Kuhn, vi. 439; Paulus Aegineta, Syd. Soc. iii. 357. Respecting the modern practice, the *Currus Triumphalis Antimonii*, under the name of "Basil Valentine, a Benedictine monk of Erfurt," is now proved to have been written about 1600: see English translation with notes by Kirkringius, 1678; *American Journ. Med. Science*, 1841, p. 136; and Roscoe and Schorlemmer, *Chemistry*, 1913, ii. 963. See also the well-known pharmacopœial works of the last three centuries; Sydenham, *Med. Obs.*; A. Billing, *Principles of Medicine*; Sir T. Watson, *Lectures*; Trousseau, *Lectures*, iii. 346; T. K. Chambers, *Lectures*, pp. 207, 229, 250; Elliotson, *Harveian Oration*, 1846; Cushny, Plimmer, etc., in *Proc. Roy. Soc. Med.*, 1907, etc.; Tsuzuki, in *Deutsche med. Wochenschrift*, 1913, p. 985; *Brit. Med. Journ.* and *Lancet*, numerous recent references.

CHAPTER V

FOTHERGILL'S MEDICAL PRACTICE. A CASE IN CONSULTATION

If your work is first with you, and your fee second, work is your master, and the Lord of work, who is God. But if your fee is first with you, and your work second, fee is your master, and the lord of fee, who is the Devil.—RUSKIN.

So will we in our work, whether here and now, or everywhere and always, have one end and one design—the promotion of the whole science and art of healing.—Sir JAMES PAGET, 1881.

FOTHERGILL'S practical instinct is illustrated by a special study, undertaken early in his career, of the diagnostic signs and approved treatment of those disorders whose attacks are sudden in their onset. Of tropical diseases, again, he was not without experience. He directed Smeathman to treat fevers in West Africa with an emetic, followed by cinchona in large quantities, given between the fits, and Epsom salts if necessary. In fluxes fowl-broth was to be taken largely, and after the bile had been freely discharged, anodynes.

Emulsions of insoluble drugs had generally been made by means of yolk of egg, an unsatisfactory excipient, for it often disagreed in digestion, sometimes became rancid, and it was besides expensive. Oils were often mixed with a volatile alkali or with spirit of wine. Mucilage of gum arabic was slowly coming into use for emulsifying. Fothergill's attention was drawn to it by his friend Ratty of Dublin, and finding the method good, he induced J. Bogle French, a London apothecary, to carry out a series of experiments with various excipients, in order to ascertain which were the best emulsifiers, and in what proportions they should be used. Fothergill brought the results in detail before the Medical Society (of Physicians) in 1757. It was shown that gum arabic was the

most effective agent ; next to this, quince seeds, then gum tragacanth, and after this the *syrupus altheæ*. Mixing in a mortar by attrition produced a much more stable emulsion than simple agitation. Oils of olive, almond, and cloves, balsams of copaiva, guaiacum, Tolu, and Peru, styrax, benzoin, musk—even beeswax and spermaceti—all formed good and mostly palatable emulsions with the gum arabic. Acids could be added if desired. After this time the *mucilago acaciæ* was much more largely employed.¹

Fothergill was commonly among the foremost in putting new and improved remedies to trial.

Hemlock, then known by its Latin name of *Cicuta*, was extolled in 1760 by Dr. Storck of Vienna as a cure for cancer. For a time everybody prescribed the drug, but it soon proved to be of little worth. Fothergill tried it in many disorders, and found that it mitigated pain in tumours and neuralgias—its value in tic-douloureux will be noted later—and he thought that it checked the progress of ulcers. He was accustomed to begin with a small dose, 20 grains or less of the extract in the day, and to increase it even to 70 grains or more, until toxic symptoms came on—giddiness, eye movements, nausea, and tremor. It seldom produced benefit until given in as large a dose as the patient could bear. The extract varies, he says, in strength : it is important that it should be made when the plant has reached its full vigour and is rather on the verge of decline, the fruits observable, and the foliage inclining to yellow ; and very little heat must be employed in the preparation. Modern investigations have confirmed the uncertainty of the virtues of this plant (to which Linnæus restored the Greek name of Conium), and have led in the present day to its almost entire neglect.²

• *Cinchona*, then called Peruvian bark, was a popular

¹ *Experiments in mixing oils, etc., with water, by means of a Vegetable Mucilage*; Works, ii. 25, iii. 188; *Med. Obs. & Inq.* i. 412. James Bogle, who added the surname French on his marriage to Elizabeth French, was an apothecary in Red Lion Square, and published with Fothergill's approval the "London Practice" of Physic (no copy traced in the British Museum). See T. Young, *Med. Lit.* p. 126; and *Account of Dr. N. Hulme*, *Trans. Med. Soc. Lond.*, 1810, p. 238. He afterwards became a merchant in London. His will was proved in 1792. Through his daughters he was the ancestor of Horace and James Smith, and of Sir James Plaisted Wilde (Lord Penzance). Information kindly supplied by N. Bogle-French of York.

² *Observations on the Use of Hemlock*, read about 1768; *Med. Obs. & Inq.* iii. 400; Works, ii. 49; Cullen, *op. cit.* ii. 267; Woodville, *Medical Botany*, i. 65, 66 note; Fluckiger and Hanbury, p. 299. Conium is omitted from the *British Pharmacopœia*, 1914.

medicine, although it had been much opposed, and had little place as yet in the official pharmacopœias. Sydenham was suspicious of it, thinking that it produced rheumatism. Boerhaave had an unconquerable dread of the bark, and even withheld it from students suffering from ague, to their grievous loss. Fothergill used it much. He records a series of cases, showing its value for scrofulous children with ophthalmia, enlarged glands and skin troubles; he gave them as much of the decoction as they would take, adding calomel, antimony or other eliminatives at the same time, and a diet of broths and light animal foods. Some cases were uncured, especially if bones or joints were involved, but many yielded to a prolonged use of the remedy. Fothergill was in the habit of prescribing a decoction of one ounce of the powder in from one to two pints of water, adding liquorice root, raisins or gum arabic before it was removed from the fire, to thicken the liquor and thus keep the powder in suspension. After straining he added nutmeg water or spirit of lavender; and with each dose of two to four tablespoonfuls, tincture of guaiacum, 10 to 60 drops, was to be taken, in order to reduce the astringency of the cinchona. Sometimes the winter's bark was combined with the other, so as to give the medicine a grateful warmth. For he liked the more aromatic and spicy barks—*contrayerva* was another favourite—belonging to the class then called "antiseptics."¹ Balsams, resins and gums were also in frequent use.

Fothergill gave soap-lees (*liquor potassæ*) in long-continued doses to dissolve stone in the bladder or kidney; Mrs. Stephens' famous lithontriptic, purchased by parliament in 1740 for £5000, had brought soap into repute for this disorder. He condemned the ordinary use of opiates in gout, and he avoided local applications (sedative or repressive) in this disease. A diuretic punch in a bad case of gout with dropsy was to be made with Spa water three parts, old hock two parts, and one of rum, with a little sugar; *sal-absinthii* (potash) and bitters were also given, with an elixir of ammonia, paregoric and squill for the dyspnœa; and a dose of Dover's powder at night. He was no abstainer from alcohol, though abstemious, and he writes in 1768 on the "pernicious custom" of drinking liquors between meals.²

¹ *On the Use of the Cortex Peruvianus in Scrofulous Disorders*, read 1756; *Med. Obs. & Inq.* i. 303; *Works*, ii. 3, iii. p. xlviii. Fothergill tried to procure a living cinchona tree, and seems to have had one in his garden, which, however, did not live long.

² One of the contentious and uncandid pamphlets of Dr. W. Rowley, *A Letter to Dr. W. Hunter*, 1774, gives a series of prescriptions for a case of

He was a good letter-writer and a sage and persuasive counsellor. "Remember the motto I have so often given thee," he writes to his brother, sick of chronic gout, "*Ne quid nimis* (not too much of anything); write it in capitals everywhere." A gouty *bon-vivant* of an opulent family is to dine upon one dish at a time, and to choose that one upon the table which he likes the least. "Steady, steady, is a good sea rule," he counsels another who needs perseverance. Of a relative's ill-health, "Her disease was labour, and the cure must be rest." "We had at Bradford an inscription on a sign, *Good Ale to-morrow for nothing*"; if the doctor's rules are broken to-day, empty is the promise of performing them to-morrow. "*Quo simplicius eo melius*" (the simpler the better), he writes to a physician who had consulted him about remedies. "*Cito, tute et jucunde* should always be the physician's motto."

Many distinguished persons placed themselves under him for medical guidance. John Wesley was one of these, and must have been a difficult patient, for he had strong views on his own treatment. In 1753 he showed signs of consumption—cough, pain, slow fever. Fothergill insisted on country air, horse-riding and rest from his incessant work. So he took coach for Lewisham, and that night wrote the well-known epitaph upon himself. Later he "broke through the doctor's order," and fell to his writing again. In the next year he took spells of treatment at the Bristol Hot-well by Fothergill's advice, and seems to have recovered of his lung trouble.¹ Lord Clive was also a patient of Fothergill's; he suffered from gall-stones, attended with spasms of severe pain, for which he was accustomed to take opium; and the fatal event at Berkeley Square in 1774 was due, according to

cancer under the joint signatures of Hunter and Fothergill. They include *Tinct. Thebaic.* (laudanum) with crocus, peppermint and gum arabic; castor oil with cinnamon; hemlock extract, 28 grs. in the day; and sarsaparilla, with nutmeg and jalap. The *Quaker's* or *Lancaster Black Drop* was a strong opiate syrup in popular use in the eighteenth century, invented by Edward Runstall of Bishop Auckland. *Acetum Opii*, Pharm. Edin. & Dubl., was intended as a substitute. A. C. Wootton, *Chronicles of Pharmacy*, ii. 145; Fothergill, *Works*, iii. 146.

¹ *Journal of Rev. J. Wesley*, ed. 1903, ii. 294-300.



A MEDICAL CONSULTATION, 1770:
DRS. DAVID D'ESCHERNY, ANTHONY ADDINGTON,
AND JOHN FOTHERGILL (right-hand figure)

From a Caricature Sketch by George Dance

Horace Walpole, to his taking an extra dose contrary to his doctor's orders.¹

It may be of interest to illustrate Dr. Fothergill's practice and the medical methods of the time by relating a case, the particulars of which have come down to us.

In the year 1764 he was consulted by his friend Dr. Cuming on behalf of a young lady of 27 years of age. She was plump, sanguine and of a lively disposition. Her physician stated that she had formerly suffered from a "pleu-retic fever," and that she was subject for several years after this to acute pains in the affected side, which were always removed by bleeding. There followed in succession amenor-rhœa, threatening of phthisis, *fluor albus*, and a violent hemi-crania. The latter disorder withstood, wrote her doctor, "the united force of the most efficacious medicines that I know, for almost a twelvemonth. It were endless to tell you the efforts I made. What expedient," he continued, "did I leave untried, what method unattempted? At last I succeeded." The hemicrania cured, the patient took a course of Bath waters, and continued well until about eight months prior to the date of consulting Fothergill, when she began to suffer from large alvine hæmorrhages. Forthwith ten ounces of blood were taken from her arm, and astringents, balsams and laxatives administered, with anodyne injections, and dossils dipped in ointments. The *æthiops mineral*, a preparation of crude mercury condemned by Boerhaave, was also prescribed, with testaceous powders, made from oyster shells. Her next symptom was a general miliary eruption, attended with a great itching, which required the exhibition of a purge and of more *æthiops*, followed by a course of Plummer's pill and a decoction of the woods, and later calomel. The local use of a *lixivium* (ley) of salt of tartar, white precipitate, and finally sulphur ointment resulted in the cure of the eruption. Violent alvine pains, with slight hæmorrhages, had in the meantime occurred, and these dictated further venæsection and more injections, with laudanum and a decoction of comfrey. A small excrescence close to the sphincter, appearing to be the seat of acute pain, was removed. It would be tedious to enumerate all the many remedies employed, which included Locatelli's balsam, *eryngo* (sea holly), white poppy, copaiva and linseed, but in spite of all these means the paroxysms of local pain continued to afflict the patient.

¹ H. Walpole, *Letters*, ix. 97, Nov. 23, 1774; Sir J. Malcolm, *Life of Clive*, iii. 371-373.

At this stage Dr. Fothergill's aid was sought for her relief. He delivered a carefully reasoned opinion. It was tactfully suggested that the necessity of frequent bleedings had weakened the patient's habit and depraved her blood, and laid her open to a scorbutic acrimony, and to a varicose state of the hæmorrhoidal vessels ; the hemicrania and the sphincter pains were in his opinion alike due to this acrimony in the blood, acting upon a habit debilitated by frequent bleedings. When proper applications had checked the hæmorrhage and the pain, "the cause was thrown upon the skin, the part to which acrimonious humours are naturally directed." "It appears to me," so the doctor summed up his opinion, "that the properest method of cure would be to strengthen her habit in general, and promote the natural secretions ; to intermix gentle evacuations ; to make an artificial ulcer near the part affected ; and to attempt, by specifics, to correct the peccant acrimony." Alluding to diet and exercise, he forbade "garden-stuff, fruits, acids, salt, butter and cheese, in any quantity." Tepid water was to be drunk, and a glass or two of red wine allowed. A mild mercurial pill was to be taken, composed of the pure metal with guaiacum, almond oil, colocynth and liquorice. An issue was to be established capable of holding two or more peas. *Sal Martis* (sulphate of iron) made up in pills with ammoniacum, Venetian soap and extract of gentian, should be administered an hour before dinner, with a decoction of cinchona and winter's bark, mixed with compound wormwood water. When the eruption returned, she was to have a draught, in which a few grains of *pilula Ruffi* (aloes and myrrh) were suspended by rubbing with rue and bryony waters and some syrup of saffron. The chalybeate purging waters of Scarborough were also advised.

This young lady recovered of her disorders, and lived to be a grandmother, enjoying good health. It is not difficult to see that in this case, which we should now describe as one of chlorosis, hæmorrhoids, and neuralgia, Fothergill's instinct led him to a line of rational and successful treatment. Avoiding the frequent venæsections, which had aggravated if they had not caused the disease, and discarding the powerful mercurial purges and innumerable herbal palliatives which had been used, he placed the patient on a supporting basis, gave iron, cinchona and mild laxatives, and left the local trouble very much alone.¹

¹ *Works*, iii. 131.

As a young man Fothergill followed carefully the rules of his art, made use of the methods which he had been taught and prescribed the reputed specifics for various disorders. But as he went on he watched Nature's ways, learned the working of the human body, and came to think less of the maxims of authority and more of the results of observation—that which he could see with his own eyes, and infer from the facts before him. The general trend of his treatment was towards the support and stimulation of the vital processes; and he gave a lesser place to the depressant methods in common use, such as bleeding, purging and blistering. These, indeed, he often used, but in selected cases and with some restraint. He placed blisters remote from the seat of pain.

All doctors probably tend to adopt a favourite line of diagnosis and treatment, and to find it appropriate to very many of their cases, especially those of chronic ill-health. Fothergill's inclination seems to have been to suspect the presence of acrimony, or as we should say acidity, as the cause of many disordered states. He treated it by a carefully ordered diet, in which limitation of the quantity of food, the use of asses' milk and the restriction of animal nutriment, of bread and of tea, generally found place. He prescribed at the same time gentle cathartics, perhaps also calomel, or mineral waters, following these with mild tonics, such as bark and iron. Perseverance in the course chosen was a cardinal point: *gutta cavat lapidem*. He remarks pertinently that remedies given by the mouth are liable to be altered in the stomach in their transit to the organs where they are to act. Hence the effects of chemical preparations depend greatly on the condition of the digestive passages at the time when they are swallowed. Therefore, he says, in the cure of chronic diseases consider the state of the stomach, and remove every obstruction in its office, enabling nature to do her own business. If digestion languish the best specifics may be of little use. Diet and regimen, including the use of air and exercise, were leading features in his treatment of most cases, and his care in regulating them

was in his own belief a main cause of his success in practice. It was a day of large eating and drinking.¹

Fothergill saw patients at his own house in the early morning and on two afternoons in the week. Lady Huntingdon tells a young friend to call "at nine or rather before," when there would be "a chance of seeing him. Press the doctor," she adds, "to take a guinea." He went out soon after that hour in his coach, not infrequently for the whole day, visiting patients, often meeting their apothecaries, and coming in for a short time at five o'clock to dine. On his return late in the evening he sat down to his writing till eleven or twelve.

Fothergill had a large medical and scientific library. Public collections of books were few in those days, and every man of letters or of taste who could afford it made his own.

In his later years he may have become old-fashioned, for he had no sympathy or approval for the "new style" of Macbride and Cullen, or for the systems in which their advanced knowledge was set forth.² Looking back now upon his practice, bereft as it was of so many aids which to modern eyes seem essential to diagnosis, we may see, nevertheless, that he and the best physicians of his time had a strong and wise clinical instinct. They knew from a wide experience what Nature could do and what she could not; their prognosis was generally sound, and it is probable also that their success in treatment was not so far behind our own as was their knowledge of pathology.

¹ There is a tale of a Quaker druggist, who told the doctor he should bring his wife and family to be quartered in the doctor's house, because he prescribed no medicine, only exercise, diet and change, and the druggist was losing his living. See M. J. Taber, *Just a Few Friends*, Phila. 1907; and another version in *Professional Anecdotes*, 1825, iii. 288.

² *Letter to Dr. Chalmers*, Oct. 23, 1772; *Bartram MSS.*, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Allusions to Fothergill's methods of treatment are scattered throughout his works, also in Lettsom's *Memoirs*.

CHAPTER VI

THE MALIGNANT SORE THROAT

Non fingendum aut excogitandum sed inveniendum quid natura faciat aut ferat.—BACON.

FOTHERGILL is best known in medical literature as the author of "An Account of the Sore Throat Attended with Ulcers," a memoir published in the year 1748.

Epidemics of a severe form of angina had occurred in several parts of the country, and in particular had swept over London in the warm dry autumns of 1747 and 1748, and had carried off, not only the poor, but members of the highest families, including two young scions of the house of Pelham. Fothergill studied the disease closely, and worked out a plan of treatment for it, not of a depleting or depressing nature, as had commonly been practised, but generous and cordial. His paper deals first at some length with the history of epidemics of angina maligna in Spain and Italy during the two previous centuries; these he illustrates by copious extracts and references. He then describes the symptoms and course of the disorder as they have come under his own observation. He paints the clinical picture of an acute disease, attacking whole families of children, as well as weakly adults, and proving fatal in many cases. It began with giddiness, rigor, fever, a quick pulse, severe headache, vomiting or purging or both, sometimes bleeding at the nose; there was sore throat and stiffness of the neck. The fauces were of a florid red colour, and there were commonly ulcers or whitish patches on or about the tonsils. A skin eruption of a deep erysipelatous aspect generally came out on the second day, especially upon the face, breast and arms, down to the finger-tips. The white patches on the tonsils, if these were present, were at first thin and pale, but became ash-coloured, and later even black in hue, evidently consisting of sloughs, whose separation had been known to give rise to fatal hæmorrhage. An acid

ichor flowed from them, and sometimes through the nostrils also. There was swelling of the parotid glands and neck ; and regurgitation of fluids sometimes took place through the nose. Insomnia and delirium were common. In those cases which ended fatally death took place by exhaustion, especially from persistent diarrhœa, or in some cases from suffocation, and generally before the fourth day of the disease ; but some patients dropped off unexpectedly after thirty or even forty days.

The diagnosis from a common angina depends, in Fothergill's view, upon the severity of the initial symptoms, the vomiting or purging, acute headache, and the erysipelatous redness of the fauces with ulceration or sloughs ; also upon the skin eruption, seldom absent in children. But some cases are difficult to discriminate. He thinks the disorder is a general one, as contrasted with angina which is purely local.

As regards the treatment, he has found bleeding prejudicial and purging also ; all evacuations which tend to lessen the strength are injurious. Let the patient be kept warm in bed ; promote the early vomiting ; give aromatic cordials (*contrayerva*, *confectio cardiaca*, saffron wine) ; check any continuing diarrhœa ; recession of the skin eruption, which is dangerous, is to be met by warmth and cordials ; a tendency to faintness to be watched against ; wine whey, chicken broth, barley water, etc., to be given ; blisters, on occasion, to be applied to the neck ; the sloughs on the tonsils not to be forcibly separated or scarified, but a free discharge of the corrosive matter to be encouraged by the use of stimulating antiseptic¹ gargles—sage tea, *decoctum pectorale* (a warm decoction of barley, raisins, figs, and liquorice), vinegar, myrrh, etc.—with which in severe cases the fauces should be very often and sedulously syringed, and especially before the swallowing of food ; large sluggish sloughs to be touched with the *mel ægyptiacum* (caustic copper acetate). For hæmorrhage he uses clysters, vinegar applied by means of tents or in steam, also bark and opium. Asses' milk, bark and the *elixir vitrioli* (aromatic sulphuric acid) are useful in the debility of convalescence. In later editions of his book he lays stress upon "free air," cleanliness and liquid nutriment ; bark in an enema with broth has, he thinks, saved many lives.

¹ The term *antiseptic* (anti-putrescent) follows Bacon's earlier thought (*Nat. Hist.*, Cent. IV.) and was employed by Boerhaave. It was becoming current at this period in English medicine. Fothergill's use of the word in 1748 is earlier than the first example given in Murray's *Dictionary*. See also Pringle's paper before the Royal Society, 1750.

Fothergill's account of the symptoms and treatment of the disorder is fitly called by the late Dr. J. F. Payne "a model of clinical description." He describes in simple language what he has himself observed, and out of a wealth of experience puts forward his conclusions cautiously, without dogmatism, recognising the limitations of his knowledge. Hence he has written very little which later research would lead us to reject. His style may be contrasted with the turgid and obscure diction still employed by many of his medical contemporaries. At the close he sums up his conclusions: that the sore throat attended with ulcers is a disorder of putrefaction, which affects the fauces in particular and the habit in general; that it is due to a putrid virus, or *miasma sui generis*, which is introduced by contagion, principally by the breath; that the effects of the virus vary according to its nature and quantity, and the predisposition of the subject; that the disease is most effectually relieved by discharge of the peccant matter on the skin or other parts; that the eruption is therefore to be promoted; that a cordial alexipharmac, warm regimen is used with advantage, and that bleeding, purging and antiphlogistics are injurious.¹

An attentive study of Fothergill's paper leads to the conclusion that he is describing a definite disorder, and not, as has been suggested, a mixture of cases of several different types. The same disorder was described by Dr. Cotton of St. Albans in 1749,² by Dr. J. Wall of Worcester in 1751,³ by Dr. Huxham in 1757,⁴ and especially by Dr. Withering,⁵ who studied it closely in Birmingham and wrote upon it at intervals from 1766 to 1793. Withering, who had known Fothergill well, became at length convinced that the "ulcerated sore throat" of the latter was the same disease as the *Scarlatina Anginosa* of Sauvage (1763). Heberden,⁶ writing in 1782, considered it highly probable that the malignant sore throat was a form of scarlet fever. And this must be our verdict to-day: that Fothergill's disorder was one type of that variable infectious disease, which we know as *Scarlatina*; of which a slight form was defined by Sydenham as *Febris*

¹ Alexipharmac is a term applied to remedies against poisons, antidotes. Fothergill's enlightened views on contagion and isolation are illustrated by a letter to his brother about 1749, with directions how to deal with an outbreak of cattle plague. Tuke, p. 23.

² Quoted by Withering.

³ *Gent. Mag.* Nov. 1751, p. 497.

⁴ *Dissertation on the Malignant Ulcerous Sore Throat.*

⁵ *Account of the Scarlet Fever and Sore Throat*, 1793.

⁶ *Commentaries*, c. 7.

Scarlatina; which occurred in severer forms epidemically, both then and often since; forms which we now regard as manifestations of the same disease. Quasi-diphtheritic symptoms indeed attended Fothergill's disorder, as they occur in severe types of scarlatina at this day. But these symptoms were exceptional, and the evidence shows that the disease defined by Bretonneau in 1821 as diphtheria was hardly known in Fothergill's time, at any rate in its pharyngeal form. Yet in the opinion of medical historians it had occurred previously, and the epidemics of angina in Spain and Italy which were the subject of Letherland's and Fothergill's researches were in fact diphtheritic.¹ The complaint already called "croup" was better known and sometimes epidemic, but it was a laryngeal disorder, and thus clearly distinguished from other forms of angina.

Scarlatina, as has been said, occurred in Fothergill's time in occasional epidemics of varying type. In the succeeding century it became a more common disease, of greater average severity and mortality, with a tendency to epidemic prevalence every few years. Outbreaks of aberrant types of tonsillitis, in which some cases assumed a scarlatinal, others a diphtherial aspect, were common in England a generation ago. These facts suggest that certain diseases of the fauces were in Fothergill's time less fully developed than they are now, that indeed new diseases were in course of formation. It is well to remember what we mean by a disease. What we call a disease is strictly the reaction of the human organism to a morbid cause. In common usage we combine the symptoms of the reaction with the cause itself, and call the whole a disease. The reaction varies with numerous factors, extrinsic and intrinsic. The cause, which Fothergill called in the language of his day a virus or miasma, we are accustomed in the case of many diseases to identify with a micro-organism, although the actual part played in the production of disease by the organism (in its possible transmutations) or by its toxins, or ferments, or by "secondary invaders," is not yet determined. When, however, such a cause has acted (it may be through countless generations of micro-organisms) upon many subjects, and has found a favourable environment

¹ Bretonneau, *Memoirs on Diphtheria*, New Syd. Soc. pp. 31-37; Hirsch, *Geog. and Hist. Pathology*, iii. 76, 77. An outbreak of diphtheria (?) in the American colonies is described by Dr. Cadwallader Colden in a letter to Fothergill in 1753: *Med. Obs. & Inq.* i. 211. See also Dr. James Sims, *Scarlatina Anginosa in 1786*, *Mem. Med. Soc. Lond.* i. 388; Lettsom, 1793, *Idem*, iv. 280; and Fagge, *Medicine*, 3rd ed. i. 256.

to which it can adapt itself, it tends to produce a uniform reaction, capable of reproduction in other like hosts, and a specific disease with a defined course and symptoms is the result ; to this we give a name. There is some evidence for the belief that in Fothergill's time diseases of the fauces were in process of evolution, and that out of various epidemic types, one of which he so carefully described, the specific disorders well known to us have been developed.

Fothergill took great pains with the composition of this monograph, devoting every leisure hour to the task, and being, he tells his friend Cuming, much exhausted when he had finished it.¹ In some of his views on treatment he followed the learned Dr. Letherland, whose retiring nature caused him to decline any reference to himself. In the preface to the fifth edition of the book in 1769, when Letherland was no longer living, Fothergill acknowledged the debt.²

The paper came out at the right moment and was well received ; the 500 copies printed were sold off within a few weeks, and six editions were called for within the author's lifetime. His name became known and his practice widely extended. The paper was translated into French and into several other languages.³

The novelty and importance at this epoch of Fothergill's views on treatment may be illustrated by a " Letter from a Physician at Bath to Dr. Heberden " published in 1758.⁴ In this letter the writer describes the " Malignant Sore Throat " attended with dark grey sloughs on the tonsils. He alludes to Fothergill without naming him, rejects his doctrines, and urges the use of bleeding, purging and scarifying the tonsils deeply, as well as giving the bark in large doses ; very few cases however in his experience survived. The old methods die hard ; even Fothergill's friend Gilbert Thompson in 1782

¹ MS. Letter, Dec. 7, 1748. C. Roberts Collection, Haverford College, Penna.

² A charge of plagiarism has been made against Fothergill on this slender foundation. See Elliot, *Works of Fothergill*, pp. iii-v ; *Works* (Lettsom), iii. p. xxix.

³ Copies of the first and second editions of this work, bound together in one volume, are preserved in the Library of the Royal Society of Medicine, London. The former contains marginal notes in Dr. Fothergill's handwriting. At the end of the volume is a list, also in his handwriting, of works dealing with the same topic ; with an autograph letter from Dr. And. Cantwell, dated Paris, 1749, which accompanied six copies of the translation into French of Dr. Fothergill's work, by M. de la Chapelle. The volume belonged to Alice Chorley of Tottenham, niece of Dr. Fothergill, and afterwards in succession to Thomas Thompson, Dr. T. Hancock and Dr. Thomas Bevan of London, and was finally presented to the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society by Dr. Thomas B. Peacock.

⁴ An imperfect copy is in the Library of the Roy. Soc. Med. Tr. D. 186, 16.

harks back to the use of depletion and purgatives in some instances. But Fothergill's treatise had a marked effect on medical opinion. His principles of treatment were widely accepted, and effected a great and beneficial change in practice. "How many lives were lost," wrote Withering in 1793, "until Dr. Fothergill and Dr. Wall taught us to withhold the lancet and the purge."¹

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 85. See also *Mem. Lettsom*, iii. 102.

CHAPTER VII

FOTHERGILL'S OTHER MEDICAL WRITINGS

A certis potius et exploratis petendum esse praesidium ; id est, his quae Experientia in ipsis curationibus docuerit ; sicut in ceteris omnibus artibus : nam ne agricolam quidem aut gubernatorem disputatione, sed usu fieri.—CELSUS.

This is the reason why the cure of many diseases is unknown to the physicians of Hellas, because they are ignorant of the whole, which ought to be studied also ; for the part can never be well unless the whole is well.—PLATO, *Charmides* (Jowett).

MOST of Fothergill's medical works consist of short papers embodying observations on diseases met with in the course of his practice.

Several of these disorders were at that date unrecognised, and he was the first to point out the group of symptoms by which they were characterised. The papers are eminently practical, laying the chief stress upon treatment. The wording is often faulty, as though they were written, as indeed was the case with most of his writings, in the intervals of his busy labour when his mind was fatigued. But he writes as an observer of nature, taught by experience, and hence his work is but little influenced by false medical theories which were then prevalent. His papers have in consequence a permanent value. They were read before the small Medical Society (of Physicians) of which he was one of the founders, and were published in the five volumes of *Medical Observations and Inquiries*. In order that his own name might not too frequently appear, his modesty dictated that some of the papers should be anonymous. Two early essays will be first mentioned which were published elsewhere.

THE USE OF EMETICS

As has been already stated, Fothergill took the use of emetics as the subject of his inaugural dissertation for the

degree of M.D. Lettsom thinks it needful to tell us that it was his genuine production, since too frequently such papers seem to have been composed "by indigent individuals, who are always to be found in colleges," ready to furnish students at a price with a thesis which they are too indolent or ignorant to write for themselves. The treatise is couched in eloquent Latin, full of reference both to the ancients and to moderns, and it demonstrates with the pardonable emphasis of a young writer the usefulness of emetics in a wide range of diseases and bodily conditions, especially in the sedentary habit. It is fair to add that he concludes with a list of disorders in which emetics should carefully be avoided.¹

RUPTURED DIAPHRAGM—CONGENITAL SYPHILIS

In 1744 Fothergill wrote a Latin letter, addressed to Dr. Mead (*medicæ juventutis pater atque princeps*) and read before the Royal Society, describing the case of an infant dying in its tenth month, in whom was found a fissure in the diaphragm. Portions of the stomach, ileum, caecum, appendix and colon had passed through this fissure into the cavity of the thorax. Fothergill gives a minute clinical history of the infant's case, which is to modern eyes an accurate pen-portrait of congenital syphilis, then apparently quite unrecognised. It shows how closely and faithfully the young observer, although wholly without guidance from authoritative knowledge of the subject, could compose his records.²

SCIATICA

Few diseases of the nervous system had been distinguished in the days of Fothergill, and those that were known were little understood until Marshall Hall and Duchenne had thrown clearer light upon nervous processes. One of Fothergill's early papers deals with the treatment of *Sciatica*, a disorder which he avers has too often proved intractable by the remedies commonly used, such as bark, guaiacum and turpentine; or by Fontanelle's blisters and caustics applied externally. He has come to rely upon calomel, prescribing one grain of this drug in a pill to be taken nightly, with a draught containing opium and antimonial wine. After ten days' treatment the calomel is increased on alternate nights

¹ The work was considered worthy of inclusion in Smellie's *Thesaurus*, 1778.

² *Epistola de Diaphragmate fisso, etc.*, *Phil. Trans.* xliv. 11; *Works*, i. 21.

to two grains, and is further increased if needful, but seldom to cause tenderness of the gums ; as soon as the pain abates the anodyne is diminished by degrees. The opium acts, in his view, not only by controlling pain but by restraining the action of the antimony on the stomach and conducting it, as it were, to the remoter parts. The patient is not generally confined within doors. Fothergill states that cases of genuine sciatica seldom fail to yield to this treatment in the space of a few weeks, and that the complaint rarely returns.¹

HYDROCEPHALUS INTERNUS [TUBERCULAR MENINGITIS]

A distemper, of which Fothergill saw about one or two instances yearly, was then obscurely alluded to by medical authors as *Hydrocephalus internus*. In 1768, whilst he was proposing to himself to write an account of it, the *Observations on the Dropsy in the Brain* by that acute observer of nervous disorder, Whytt of Edinburgh, were posthumously published. Fothergill brought forward his own paper in the same year, a paper which Vicq d'Azyr calls "un des tableaux les plus finis que l'on ait jamais tracés en médecine." His clinical picture is in several respects fuller than Whytt's, and, differing from that author, he lays stress on the often sudden onset of the disease in children or young adults, who appear, he says, to be healthy and active, sometimes "the favourites or sole hopes of their parents."

He traces its course : the drooping in some cases for a few days, access of fever, costiveness, pains about the nape and limbs, headache from temple to temple, deep and tense, and persistent vomiting ; the pulse at first slow, unequal in force and time ; irregular suspirious respiration—"sometimes they only seem to breathe in sighs for some minutes together"—(compare Cheyne-Stokes respiration) ; the wakefulness and startings, the pupils dilated and at length fixed, the photophobia, the piercing scream, and the gradual lapse into unconsciousness—none of these features escape him.

As regards treatment Fothergill confesses his impotence to cure. He begins with calomel, rhubarb and scammony, and perhaps tartar emetic. Anthelmintics are then given ; but unless these relieve, the disorder goes on to a fatal end, in despite of blisters and sinapisms. He urges the duty of inspecting the body after death ; we must not despair, he writes, of ascertaining the cause. He has himself found a

¹ *Med. Obs. & Inq.* iv. 69 ; *Works*, ii. 77.

collection of clear lymph in the ventricle of the brain in several cases, and he suggests tentatively the rupture of a lymphatic vessel from a fall or accident as a possible cause of the disorder.¹

TIC DOULOUREUX

Fothergill was the first to describe clearly that form of facial neuralgia which was afterwards called Tic Douloureux. In his practice down to 1773, the date of his paper, he had met with sixteen cases. He marks the characters which distinguish the complaint from other painful affections of the face, from disorders of the teeth, from rheumatism, from ague in the head (malarial neuralgia), and from those fixed pains, worse at night-time, which are due to syphilis of long standing. The distemper, he says, attacks persons of forty years of age and upwards, and especially women. He describes the site and character of the pain, its paroxysms and how these are excited, and its rebelliousness to treatment—full doses of opium relieve, but the remedy becomes as troublesome as the disease. The extract of hemlock, gradually increased to a full dose, and persevered in, despite relapses, for many months, appears in his hands most often to bring substantial relief. He has a suspicion that the disorder is allied to cancer.

His nephew Dr. Samuel Fothergill, published in 1804 a more extended account of Tic Douloureux, describing it as an affection of the fifth pair of nerves and of the *portio dura*. Success with the use of hemlock was less frequent in other hands than Fothergill's.²

HYDROPHOBIA

Hydrophobia was a very uncommon disease at this period, for Heberden, it seems, had never seen a case; but it had lately attracted some attention. In one of his papers Fothergill gives a minute description of a case in which he and

¹ *Remarks on the Hydrocephalus internus*, read 1768. *Med. Obs. & Inq.* iv. 40; *Works*, ii. 63; Dr. R. Whytt, *Observations on the Dropsy in the Brain*, 1768. A fortnight after Fothergill's paper was read Dr. W. Watson described three more cases, in one of which the symptoms began two weeks after a blow on the head (*Med. Obs. etc.* iv. 78). Fothergill's paper was published in French: *Remarques sur l'hydrocéphale interne, traduites par de Villiers*. Paris, 1807.

² Dr. J. Fothergill, *Of a Painful Affection of the Face*, *Med. Obs. & Inq.* v. 129; *Works*, ii. 179, iii. 163. M. Andrée of Versailles had alluded to the disease in 1756. Dr. S. Fothergill preferred the name *Faciei morbus nervorum crucians*: the Germans called it *Dolor faciei Fothergilli*.

Watson had been consulted. The symptoms were of a typical character, developing four months after the bite of a cat, and they progressed to the usual fatal result. Fothergill, ever striving to cure, however hopeless the outlook, sums up his experience in the following advice. When the wound is received let it be cleansed with salt and water ; enlarge it by the cautery or knife, or by firing with a few grains of gunpowder, or still better by excision ; and promote discharge for a long time. Observe whether the bite was through any covering ; do not kill the animal, but confine it ; and assure the patient that the liability is remote. Should the disease develop, avoid all useless measures, however much reputed, such as sea-bathing, the Ormskirk or Tonquin remedies, Turbith mineral, or Mead's powder ; their apparent cures were in imaginary cases. Support the strength by much food, using clysters of egg and broth if needful. Soothe and relax the system by baths at 80° to 86° Fahr., which may contain bay salt or pot pourri ; the patient to lie in them as long as he is easy ; and baths and clysters to be repeated with perseverance. Mercurial ointment or inhalation of cinnabar fumes may be tried, also bleeding in moderation ; opium seems to be useless. But the outlook he confesses is an ill one, and those who are called to attend these cases should be bound by honour and the ties of humanity to record their experience fully, so that the field of conjecture may be contracted and new lines of investigation pursued.¹

EPILEPSY

Fothergill was not unsuccessful in treating some nerve complaints, little as they were then understood. In his *Remarks on the Cure of the Epilepsy*, written in the fulness of his clinical experience, he says he has tried the usual specifics for the disease, such as valerian, castor, the foetid gums and empyreumatic oils, besides mistletoe and cardamom flowers, but with many disappointments. Indeed he suspects that the disgusting taste of most of these drugs is the means of benefit when this takes place, by reducing the appetite and lessening the food taken. For diet is in this as in many other

¹ Fothergill's paper, published in 1774 in the *Med. Obs. & Inq.* v. 195, was afterwards reprinted as a pamphlet with additions. See *Works*, ii. 221. Also *Medical Transactions*, Roy. Coll. Phys. ii. 46, 192, 222. Lettsom advised that a pointed stick of *lapis infernalis* (nitrate of silver) should be thrust into the opening made by the dog's tooth and worked deeply. *Hints*, iii. 224 ; *Memoirs*, iii. 144.

disorders his main remedy. It is the plethoric type of the disease which he has in view, in persons who for the most part seem to be in full health, who eat largely and often incautiously ; if children they are highly indulged, or necessary exercise is neglected. He therefore recommends in many cases total abstinence from animal food and from fermented liquors. A course of mild laxatives is to be given and steadily continued, with a light chalybeate interposed ; riding, cold bathing and general hygiene must be pursued with patience, and these seldom fail of success ; small doses of opium only when fright or pain have to be countered. He finds tin filings, an ounce given daily in an electuary, and followed by a cathartic, to be a certain remedy for cases which depend on the irritation of worms.¹

ON BLEEDING IN APOPLEXIES

In the case of apoplexies, Fothergill writes, it is usual for the surgeon, if he finds the pulse full and tense, at once to bleed the patient. It is true that the persons most liable to this disorder are stout, short-necked and inactive, eating freely and often neglecting their evacuations. Bleeding in such persons seems a natural remedy, yet he thinks it is used too often. It might perhaps have prevented the attack and in some cases it may assist recovery by lessening the resistance to the heart's action ; but more frequently the copious drain reduces the strength, and nature's effort at revival is powerfully checked, the patient dying, or if he survives, suffering hemiplegia.

The common occurrence of a stroke after a plentiful meal suggests to him not so much plethora as that the distended stomach, by pressing on the descending aorta and obstructing respiration, has overfilled the blood-vessels of the head. Instead of bleeding he uses emetics and purgatives, checking faintness by broth or wine, or giving repeated clysters if the patient cannot swallow, with sinapisms to the soles.

The bearing of a short neck on apoplexy is illustrated by the case of a young plethoric man with a very short neck, who was seized with a brief apoplexy whilst seated in a boat, and turning his head as the boat moved to keep his eye fixed on an object in the river. Fothergill shows that if a leather tube is

¹ *Med. Obs. & Inq.* vi. 68 ; *Works*, iii. 166, 199. Dr. Anthony Fothergill suggested that the slight proportion of arsenic in the tin might be the beneficial agent. Lettsom relates a case of severe juvenile epilepsy, which he attributes to bony spiculæ found projecting inwards from the vault of the cranium. *Memoirs*, iii. 72.

twisted, its diameter is lessened in proportion as the tube is short. It is in this way that the jugular veins are contracted when a short-necked person turns his head, causing at first giddiness and then even apoplexy ; a tight collar aggravates the effect.

The practice of bleeding in apoplexies was too deeply rooted in the medical mind to give way to Fothergill's caution. It was not till some generations later that venæsection was restricted to a certain type of cases. After this, in the latter half of last century, bleeding was almost disused in England, although still mentioned in the text-books. Of late years more accurate knowledge of arterial and venous tension has led to bleeding being again resorted to with advantage, especially as a prophylactic, but also in some cases after the onset of cerebral hæmorrhage.¹

THE SICK HEADACHE

An essay of Fothergill's written in 1778 contains one of the earliest clinical accounts of the Sick Headache (Megrim), a disorder which had not yet attained a place in systematic medicine, and of which he knew something in his own person. Whilst incident to both sexes and at all seasons, it is found, he says, mostly in persons of early and middle age, belonging to the middle and upper ranks, who are of sedentary and relaxed habits, and eat incautiously. The onset occurs on first waking in the morning or later ; there is "a singular kind of glimmering in the sight, objects swiftly changing their apparent position, and surrounded with luminous angles, like those of a fortification." Giddiness comes on ; then headache of varying severity over one eye, or over both, sometimes on one parietal bone, or on the occiput. Sickness succeeds, in some cases only nausea, or a thin phlegm is vomited, or in others bile. Abatement of the pain follows, leaving soreness, uneasiness, and a wish for repose. After a short sleep the patient awakes well, only debilitated. Such an attack in a young person may last two or three hours ; as the years pass, it is apt to continue longer, twenty-four hours or more, and the patients suffer "with a violence scarcely to be endured ; the least light or noise seems to throw them on the rack." The fits recur in some cases once in two or three

¹ *Considerations on the Practice of Bleeding in Apoplexies*, read 1776. *Med. Obs. & Inq.* vi. 80 ; *Works*, iii. 208. Heberden had expressed similar if less decided views in 1767, *Med. Trans.* i. 472 ; *Cyclop. of Pract. Med.* 1833, i. 130.

days, or in two or three weeks, or in as many months, or yet seldomer.

It is often treated, he continues, as a nervous distemper, but he thinks that the headache proceeds from the stomach, and that it is due to the effect in some constitutions of reiterated errors in diet, both as to the quality and quantity of the food, associated with costiveness. He supposes that the aliment operates by altering the quality of the bile secreted. Fothergill's treatment is to give an emetic, with warm water, and a mild cathartic to follow. Thus he prescribes aloes, with rhubarb and liquorice root, infused in lime-water, and spirit of lavender; also mineral waters drunk for a proper length of time. But dieting is of the first importance. Butter, especially when melted, fat meats, spices, black pepper, meat pies, rich baked puddings, and strong liquors are harmful. In quantity, a just medium is to be found by abstaining at the first sensation of satiety; the *how much* must be determined by each individual.

He goes on to a review of English habits of diet. More people, he thinks, suffer by immoderate eating than by hard drinking; the latter practice being now generally banished to the vulgar. He recalls that the famous Dr. Mandeville, when dining with the earl of Macclesfield, was often asked: "Doctor, is this wholesome?" "Does your Lordship like it?" "Yes." "Does it agree with your Lordship?" "Yes." "Why then it is wholesome." Fothergill's own constitution, being "a good deal below the middle point of general strength," has obliged him to be careful in his own diet; moreover, he has spent most of his life in observing the effects of food on the infirm and invalid. Different nations, he goes on, subsist on very various foods, yet enjoy reasonable health. In the East they live on rice and vegetables; some nations on fish, others on mixed diets; some use fermented liquors, some none. Our organs of digestion are so constructed that we can gradually accommodate ourselves to every species of aliment. But this is not the case in regard to the quantity of food; if it is insufficient, we decay; if too much, fatal oppression ensues.

The English meals, he says, are breakfast, dinner, and supper. At the first, tea, coffee or chocolate is drunk; those who are not robust should limit the heat, the strength, and the quantity of these drinks, and little sugar should be added. As to the bread and butter or sugar which are taken at the same time, strong organs are requisite to digest much bread. The husbandman may do it, but in weak stomachs the bread

turns sour, produces heartburn, and should therefore be used sparingly. Butter also is often difficult of digestion, especially when toasted, fried or in sauces. Dinner, about noon, usually demands a well-covered table. Animal food supplies the chief part, and vegetables and puddings should be in smaller quantity; the latter if rich, sweet and baked often cause suffering. Fruit should not be taken after a plentiful meal but in the forenoon. Men should drink during the meal what health and inclination require, and not sit over the bottle afterwards. Wine after a full meal gives a temporary flow of animal spirits, but rather opposes the necessary assimilation of the food; a mere diluent is preferable. No spirits should be taken, and the less of fermented liquors of all kinds the better; "where water does not disagree, value the privilege and continue it." The novel practice of taking tea or coffee as a separate repast in the afternoon, before the digestion of the last meal is finished, is injurious, but an unsweetened cup without solids may be drunk soon after dinner. Suppers, he writes, are now discouraged among the affluent, but it is a better practice for some, especially for those who have to give attention to business, to take two moderate meals, rather than a single large dinner. The supper should be light; liquids are often ill borne.¹

THE USE OF COFFEE

Fothergill wrote a further notice of coffee. This beverage had been brought into Europe from Turkey in the middle of the seventeenth century, and coffee-houses after the manner of the east had become common in London. Duties and licenses were imposed to restrict them, and in 1675 Charles II. tried to shut them up as "Seminaries of Sedition," but they throve and multiplied in spite of all. The supply of the berries was a source of no little wealth to the Arabians, but the plant was sent to Europe about 1690, and in 1727 the cultivation was introduced into the West Indies. In Fothergill's time most of the coffee consumed in England came from those islands, but it was inferior (especially that from the English islands) to the Mocha product. Fothergill attributes this to the high duties charged, altogether 1s. 10d. per lb., discouraging its culture. He urges the reduction of the duty

¹ The *Remarks on the Sick Headache* were read before the Society of (Licentiate) Physicians, an unrevised paper; the diction is wanting in order and style. *Med. Obs. & Inq.* vi. 103; *Works*, ii. 320, and iii. 219.

in the mutual interests of England and of its plantations ; smuggling would be discouraged, the consumption would be greater, and the revenue in consequence would not suffer.

Tea, coffee and chocolate compete, he says, for our preference ; tea at present taking the lead. Fothergill personally inclines to coffee. Letters from the West Indies tell him how much coffee is used by the French, contributing to their vivacity. " Coffee and scalded milk with a crust of bread," would surely, in Governor Scott's humble opinion, " be one of the best breakfasts in the world for the honest brave people of the foggy island of Great Britain, where such a multitude of melancholy accidents happen from a lowness of spirits." ¹

ON TAPPING IN DROPSIES

Another paper relates to the early use of tapping in dropsies. Fothergill begins by remarking on the folly of applying remedies when too late to be of service, and goes on to show that the operation of tapping has fallen into disrepute on this account ; few patients, he says, survive its employment because it is not used early enough. His own practice is to use diuretics, such as squills, purgatives (salts), and corroborants (balsams) for a time. But if no benefit accrues, if also the viscera appear to be sound, if there is no history of intemperance and if strength is adequate, he makes a pause, until the signs of ascites become so evident that tapping can be safely performed. After this has been done the diuretics, chalybeates, and bitters have again a fair chance, for the vessels have recovered their absorbent power. He does not make incisions in anasarca, preferring the use of the scarificator, by which small transverse cuts are made in the skin. ²

PAINFUL CONSTIPATION

Elsewhere Fothergill deals with cases of Painful Constipation, masked by apparent diarrhœa, due to rectal impactions ;

¹ Extracts from *The History of Coffee* by J. Ellis, with a botanical description by Dr. Solander, and a figure of the plant : also extracts from La Roque's *Voyage* ; a *Letter* (dated 1773, from Dr. Fothergill) on the *Culture and Use of Coffee* ; and *Observations on Coffee* communicated by Governor Melville, and by Governor Scott of Dominica, 1765 ; also notes by Lettsom ; all in *Works*, ii. 280. See also Ellis's *Letter to Franklin*, 1773, *Amer. Philosoph. Soc. Calendar*, iii. 181 ; and Dr. T. Percival, *Essays*, ii. 122. Fothergill had some coffee-trees growing in his garden at Upton. The largest, about 15 feet high, fruited in full berry in 1783, being then in Lettsom's garden at Grove Hill.

² *Med. Obs. & Inq.* iv. 114 ; *Works*, ii. 85.

a condition sometimes set up by the use of bark or other astringent tonics.¹

CONSUMPTION. THE CLIMATE OF LONDON

Fothergill wrote several papers on the cure of consumption, the outcome of a large experience. His first purpose is to enter his protest against the abuse of balsams such as copaiba, tolu and benzoin, then much prescribed for this disorder. Their use in embalming may have led people to infer that they had efficacy in preserving the living also from corruption and decay. They may be good, he allows, in cold serous habits in advanced age, and they may have antiseptic efficacy against purulent ulceration, but (and here he disagrees with Fuller) their heating and acrid qualities are improper when inflammatory signs are present. He traces the clinical signs of chronic phthisis, not omitting the patient's "nails bending over the ends of his fingers," and points out that its victims are many of them marked by "excellences both of body and mind," which would have made them conspicuous ornaments of humanity. Treatment, he says, is chiefly of use at the beginning. Influenced by a theory that the quantity of blood passing through the lungs should be moderated, he advises limiting solid food, and gives no meat nor fermented liquors, preferring milk, or where this disagrees, whey; the addition of rum or brandy has done much mischief. He lays stress on general regimen; the avoidance of anxiety, fatigue and dissipation; the keeping of regular hours, with moderate exercise; horse-riding, which was Sydenham's prime remedy, is useful within limitations.

As regards drug treatment he condemns such mischievous nostrums as "Godfrey's Cordial" and "Bateman's Drops." He thinks that bark, indicated as it is by the symptoms of an intermittent hectic, is too freely used, but he finds it valuable in certain classes of cases. The Elixir of Vitriol (aromatic sulphuric acid) combined with tincture of roses is good in the later stages of the complaint. He has also tried in some cases the antiseptic effect of inhaling the vapour from boiling brine in the salt-works. Repeated small bleedings are useful

¹ *On Painful Constipation from Indurated Fæces*, an anonymous paper read 1768. *Med. Obs. & Inq.* iv. 123; *Works*, ii. 99. The local examination and the treatment—mechanical removal by the finger, or by the aid of a tallow candle—was carried out by the apothecary or his servant at the request of the physician.

in inflammatory and plethoric subjects, but he utters a warning against excess. The Bristol waters have an extraordinary reputation in these disorders; the annals of the hot wells indeed show a large mortality, but this he thinks is because the patients come too late. He has seen many persons recover after drinking the water, and advises a trial in the early stage of the disease. Much of the benefit may, he admits, be due to travel and change, nor is it of little consequence that the patients should be obliged to be out of their rooms early in the morning in the cool fresh air to take the waters.

Perhaps the chief interest attaches to Fothergill's remarks on change of atmosphere and climate. A journey of itself is helpful; the fresh scenes stimulate hope in the patient's mind. The air of all large cities is injurious to consumptives. They should resort to a spot where the soil is dry and the water is good; where neither stagnant pools nor thick woods abound; it should be airy but not stormy, nor exposed to the north-east; and sheltered walks and rides must be available. He goes on to examine the climate of London. The town, he says, is surrounded by a ridge of eminences which enclose besides the city a low plain to the westward. On the north are Highgate, Hampstead and Kensington gravel-pits, on the south Blackheath, Clapham and Putney. Over the town itself hovers a dense body of smoke which spreads for several miles beyond the suburbs (then of small extent) and covers the herbage with soot. In summer the prevailing winds drive the smoke northward, whilst in the winter the cold winds from that quarter move it to the south, and their rigour is softened by passing through the warm smoky atmosphere. Consequently vegetation is earlier to the south and south-west of the city; for example, he has seen the double almond tree in bloom at Chelsea twelve days earlier than in the north or east. In spring time the climate of many parts of London is too exposed for consumptives; they should stay preferably in the vales on the south and west, as Camberwell, Peckham, the lower parts of Clapham, the drier parts of Lambeth and Battersea, or Chelsea; on the other hand, to send such persons in summer to the low marshy banks of the Thames amongst the gardeners' grounds is most improper. Islington, "the general refuge of the city," is open to the north-east, and is moreover smoky in summer.¹ As regards other parts

¹ It is said that Fothergill had a high opinion of Mitcham, calling it the Montpellier of England, from its salubrious air. It was a place of many physic gardens, and patients were sent there when the camomiles were in full bloom. E. J. Bartley, *Mitcham in Days Gone By*, 1909.

of England, Fothergill sends his patients, he tells us, in the spring to the south or west country or to the sea coast ; and in summer to the north, or to Wales, Buxton, Matlock, etc.

Of continental resorts for phthisis he says with regret that but little is known ; they should have a short mild equable winter, and be of easy access. The south of France (Nice and near Marseilles), Italy (near Naples), and Portugal (near Lisbon and Cintra) are most resorted to. Madeira is more equable than these, but the voyage is a hindrance. Above all, let not the journey be undertaken when the disease is advanced or the season unfit.

Fothergill's treatment of consumption shows his clinical instincts at their best. His proposition to diminish the blood-flow through the lungs would now find little favour, yet in some plethoric cases it might promote a cure by fibrosis. He makes no contribution to the pathology of the disease, evidently following himself the views of Richard Morton ; for he makes some allusion to heredity, and speaks of the disorder as for the most part taking its rise from an accidental cold. It is to the French school, commencing with Desault, that we chiefly owe the doctrine of tubercle.¹

THE MANAGEMENT OF THE CLIMACTERIC

A paper which continued to be read long after Fothergill's time, and was translated into French, dealt with the management proper at the climacteric period. Rejecting the old theories on which this management had been based, and yet knowing little of the mechanism of ovulation, Fothergill lays down a plan of treatment which is essentially symptomatic and based on experience. He defines clearly, amongst other conditions, the plethoric state, and the irritable or nervous habit, and adjusts his remedies according to the needs of each ; here eliminants and cathartics, there astringents or anodynes ; and above all, such regulation of diet, drink and general regimen as he had found useful in the differing conditions. His clinical pictures of some of the various disorders, real or

¹ *Med. Obs. & Inq.* iv. 231 (1769) ; v. 345 ; *Works*, ii. 115, 127 ; iii. 154, 179 ; *Proc. Roy. Soc. Med.* iv. Epidem. Sect. pp. 153, 154. Lettsom (writing in 1812) states that about 1770 the faculty of Paris enquired of the College of Physicians in London whether the frequency of consumption in this city was due to the use of coal-fires ; and that Fothergill told him the question was answered in the negative, since it was just as frequent where peat or wood was used as fuel. Since that time, he adds, the disease has spread over the continent and still more in America. *Mem. Lettsom*, iii. 211, 348.

imaginary, which occur at this period of life, might easily have been drawn to-day.¹

OBESITY

"A strict vegetable diet," Fothergill observes, "reduces exuberant fat more certainly than any means I know." Two striking examples follow, in which this regimen and the limitation of alcoholic liquors effected a cure. One of these patients, a lady who could with difficulty walk across the floor of her apartment, was sent to drink the Scarborough water, until she was able to climb the ascent to the spa.²

ANGINA PECTORIS

Two papers were written by Fothergill on Angina Pectoris, a disorder which had only lately been defined and named by Heberden, although isolated cases may be found in the records of Morgagni and others. Fothergill describes two cases, out of many that had come under his notice, in which he had been able to obtain a *post-mortem* examination. The clinical history is related with fulness by his graphic pen, including the special characteristics of the pain, the effect of sudden agitations, whether from passion or exercise, the influence of a full meal, and of states of the weather, and the frequent association with a gouty habit of body. Of the autopsies on his two patients, the first was inconclusive; the second was performed by John Hunter—it might have been a forecast of his own tragical end—and revealed, besides pleural effusion, much evidence of "ossification" in the structures of the heart. The substance of the ventricles was pale, ligamentous, and in parts whitish and hard; the mitral valves were stiffened and contained many similar patches; there were ossifications in the wall of the aorta; and "the two coronary arteries, from their origin to many of their ramifications upon the heart, were become one piece of bone."

This seems to be the earliest dated record of lesion of the coronary vessels in a case of angina pectoris. Jenner and Parry made further observations, and coronary atheroma and its results were in course of time recognised as the characteristic lesions of one type of angina, whilst Heberden's

¹ *Of the Management proper at the Cessation of the Menses, Med. Obs. & Inq.* v. 160; *Works*, ii. 201; *Conseils aux Femmes, etc.*, 3 editions in France; the 2nd, Paris, 1800, was enlarged by Petit-Radel.

² *Med. Obs. & Inq.* v. 248, 250; *Works*, ii. 260, 261.

original theory of spasm was developed by Trousseau and others, who discerned the neurotic nature of the disorder, as well as its anatomical basis.

When Fothergill comes to the question of the treatment of angina his resourcefulness contrasts with the brief recommendations of Heberden. He lays stress, as is his wont, upon diet; spices and all heating things are to be shunned; food is to be sparing in quantity, and animal food to be abstained from so far as health permits; little fermented liquors should be taken. Temperance and moderation are enjoined in the habits and work of life; guarding against passion, anxiety or any vehement emotions; with some exercise on horseback in suitable cases. The emunctories are to be attended to, and gentle laxatives employed; to disperse flatulence and control distension of the stomach, warm cordials are proper, especially peppermint; bitters should be taken for a fortnight at a time, and sometimes a mild chalybeate; Fothergill gives soap and native cinnabar pills to one patient. If needful an anodyne of opium and antimonial wine may be taken at night. The Bath waters may be drunk in the summer time. The scheme here outlined would still form a good basis of treatment, to which the further and more potent means which modern knowledge has supplied could be added.¹

PIGMENT POISONING

Colica Pictonum, or of Poitou, had long been known as a disease, the cause of which—poisoning by lead—was demonstrated in a masterly paper by Dr., afterwards Sir George Baker in 1767. A few years after this Fothergill brought forward cases of artists in water-colours who suffered with symptoms of poisoning, due, as he showed, to their placing the brushes charged with metallic pigments between their lips in the course of their work. He tells of violent colic and constipation; of feebleness of the hands; again, of exquisite pains in the soles of the feet, of loss of speech and

¹ Fothergill's papers on angina pectoris seem to have been read in 1774 and 1775. See *Med. Obs. & Inq.* v. 233, 252, and *Works*, ii. 249, 263; Heberden (1768) in *Med. Trans.* ii. 59, iii. 1, 12; and his *Comment.* (1782), c. 70. Rougnon, 1768 (see Osler, *Angina Pectoris*); Parry, *Syncope Anginosa*, 1799. See also Coelius Aurelianus, *Chron.* ii. 1; Morgagni, *De Sedibus*, ii. Ep. xxiii. 8, xxvi. 31; *Mem. Lettsom*, iii. 46; Trousseau, *Clin. Méd.* i. xx. Seneca was probably the subject of this disorder, which has struck down some men of the strongest and keenest minds, such as John Hunter, Dr. T. Arnold, Matthew Arnold and Dr. Chalmers.

mental prostration. He suspects the presence of arsenic, as well as lead or copper, in some of these cases. In a note he adds that he has found similar pains in the feet as the almost constant companion of dram-drinking, especially in women; this may be the earliest allusion to alcoholic neuritis.¹

IPECACUANHA IN DIARRHŒA

Ipecacuanha was then commonly and freely used in cases of Chronic Diarrhœa. In the last of his medical papers Fothergill states his own method of using the drug in small and infrequent doses. He gives one or two grains only, early in the morning; this has either an emetic or cathartic effect, which is assisted by a basin of thin gruel. The dose is repeated daily or at longer intervals, and a cordial anodyne is taken every night to insure digestive quietude. The cure partly depends in Fothergill's view on the diaphoretic qualities of the drug, since these throw off through the skin the acrimony, which is a cause of the diarrhœa. The food should be regulated especially in quantity, and animal food restricted to one kind only; thus a cure ensued in a patient who dined off mutton for a month continuously. A long course of gentle tonics, bark or iron, is helpful; besides it enables the doctor to keep control of the regimen.²

INFLUENZA

Influenza was a disease well known to Fothergill. Again and again in the middle part of his century—in 1762, in 1775, in 1782—was it epidemic in Europe, sweeping rapidly over whole countries, and burning itself out, as it were, in a few weeks. Fothergill studied the outbreak of October and November 1775, which smote half London with catarrh. He is said to have had sixty patients on his own daily list. Directly it ceased he drew up a concise "Sketch of the late Epidemical Disease," under heads, which he printed on four pages of letterpress having very wide margins, and circulated it among his medical friends in town and country, begging them to add their own observations, so that a more complete history of the distemper might be obtained. Replies were furnished by

¹ *Observations on Disorders to which Painters in Water-Colours are exposed*, read 1775. *Med. Obs. & Inq.* v. 394; *Works*, ii. 269; *Med. Trans.* i. 175.

² *On the Cure of Fluxes by Small Doses of Ipecacuanha*, read Aug. 21, 1780. *Med. Obs. & Inq.* vi. 186; *Works*, iii. 245.

Heberden, Pringle, Baker and Revell Reynolds in London, by Cuming and Pulteney in the west, and by Ash of Birmingham, White of York, and Skene of Aberdeen amongst others. A considerable body of evidence agreed as to the course of the complaint ; its sudden onset, attacking first domestic servants, and then often entire households ; the giddiness, headache and other pains ; the acute catarrh of nose and throat, sometimes of digestive organs ; the fever and quick pulse ; the frequent and teasing cough, often continuing after the other symptoms had subsided ; the intermittent flushing and sweats in some cases ; and the languor and mental depression which followed, out of all proportion to the physical illness. Some were able to keep about ; others were laid up for a few days. A scarlet eruption, otalgia, and sloughs on the tonsils occurred in a few cases.

The distemper was remarkable for its suddenness and universality. Thus Dr. Glass wrote that all the servants and patients in the Devon and Exeter Hospital excepting two children were seized within a week ; and few of the 200 inmates of the Exeter Workhouse escaped. At Chester it was recorded by Dr. Haygarth that, in a street of affluent residents, 73 out of 97 suffered ; in one of tradespeople, 109 out of 114 ; whilst the 175 occupants of the Home of Industry were all affected. Many children were attacked, also old people ; and to some of the very young, the old and the weakly, it proved fatal ; otherwise the mortality was very slight.

The patients were treated with warmth, diluents, diaphoretics, purgatives and nutritious food. Some doctors used bleeding ; Fothergill did so in sthenic cases ; others thought this harmful. Bark was generally found useful in the later stages.

It was established in various places that horses and dogs had suffered a few weeks earlier than men, and that a good many dogs, after showing signs of giddiness, anorexia, fever and paralysis of the hind legs, had died. Fothergill tried to connect the outbreak with weather conditions, but with no success, excepting that the disease appeared to be checked by a sudden frost.

These eighteenth-century epidemics of Influenza in England were followed by a long pause, broken only by the slighter outbreak of 1803, until the severe visitations of 1830 and 1847 ; after this again there was another almost entire cessation until 1889. At the latter epoch the relationship of infective germ and host seems to have become altered, for

immunity is no longer produced with any regularity, and so the disorder is ever amongst us.¹

WEATHER AND DISEASE

Following Sydenham's endeavours to discover the relation between weather and disease, Huxham, Fothergill, Cleghorn and others sought by patient and continuous observations to accumulate records upon which such relations could be established. During four years, from 1751 to 1754, Fothergill made observations in London of the barometer and thermometer, the highest and lowest readings and daily range, with the direction of the wind, the rain, etc., recording at the same time the diseases which were prevalent. These records he communicated anonymously once a month to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in the hope of inciting others to the same enquiry. A steady course of one kind of weather, and again, quick transitions from one kind to another, might, he thought, have an effect in promoting certain diseases. Moist and moderately warm seasons were, according to his observation, the least disposed to produce acute diseases. Some of his incidental notes on current disorders are of interest, as for example on an epidemic of jaundice in children, and on inflammatory bowel disorders occasioned by eating great quantities of walnuts, then very plentiful. Again he laments the early treatment of slow fevers by bleeding, blistering and sweating, so that the sufferers came enfeebled under the care of the physician.

Medical observers of the weather at this period did not effect much beyond confirming Sydenham's conclusions as to the prevalence of respiratory and digestive catarrhs at some seasons of the year. Since Fothergill's time much more

¹ A *Sketch of the Epidemic Disease, which appeared in London towards the end of the year 1775*, *Med. Obs. & Inq.* vi. 340; *Works*, iii. 251. A copy of Fothergill's circulated *Sketch* is in the MS. *Linnean Correspondence*, Linn. Soc. The disorder was then known as the Epidemic Catarrh, or *Febris Catarrhalis*, although the Italians had already called it *Influenza* from the supposed influence of the heavenly bodies. Dr. T. Glass thought that the pestilence described by Homer as spreading in 9 days through the camp of the Greeks and then disappearing must have been *Influenza*. A prescription of Haygarth's may amuse the learned reader: *Tartar Emetic* gr. ʒ. 2dis. *horis ad sursum vel deorsum purgandum*. On the occurrence of the next epidemic in 1782 the College of Physicians collected information from practitioners in the kingdom, much as Fothergill had done, and an account of the disease was drawn up by a committee of the college. See *Med. Trans.* iii. 54. Some curious notices of outbreaks in France in 1733, 1737 and 1743 are to be found in Barbier, *Journals historiques et anecdotes du règne de Louis XV.* The disorder was called "Rhume Épidémique" and "Grippe."

accurate meteorological records and truer pathology have not enabled us to advance very much further. We know that pneumonia, measles, hooping-cough and scarlatina have an epidemic prevalence at certain seasons of the year, and that some of these occur in periodic cycles, but this is about as far as present knowledge has attained, and such obscure phrases as "Epidemic constitution of the Air" and "Pandemic influence" are still sometimes made use of.¹

"RULES FOR THE PRESERVATION OF HEALTH"

This account of Fothergill's medical papers may be closed with an allusion to an imposture—a little book, "Rules for the Preservation of Health, by J. Forthergell"—which, greatly to Fothergill's annoyance, was issued by an enterprising bookseller. The work was compiled from Dr. Mackenzie's *Rules of Health* and from other sources, and it traded on Fothergill's high reputation as the supposed author, so that it passed through many editions and attained a large circulation. He informed the public in vain, time after time, of its spurious origin.²

¹ *On Weather and Diseases, Works*, i. 145-240; *Annual Med. Review and Register*, 1808, p. 37; Dr. A. Ransome, in *Proc. Roy. Soc. Med.* iv. Epidem. Sect. p. 185. The notification of Infectious Diseases which commenced in England about 1890 will in time supply further and more reliable data.

² There were not less than fourteen editions, of the title-page at any rate. *Med. Obs. & Inq.* vi. 135.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DISPUTE WITH DR. LEEDS

He who overcomes others is strong, but he who overcomes himself is mighty.—LÂO-TSZE, 600 B.C.

Calamitas virtutis occasio est. Illos merito quis dixerit miseros qui nimia felicitate torpescunt. Hos itaque deus quos probat, quos amat, indurat, recognoscit, exercet.—SENECA, *De Providentia*.

FOTHERGILL'S medical and scientific life was singularly free from the misunderstandings and quarrels into which the scientists of his time, jealous for their own reputation and rights, were too often led. There is however one episode in his career which should not be passed over, because it has been made the cause of reproach to his character. We must disturb the dust which has long settled on forgotten records, but the story may illustrate the manners of the time, and the history of the society to which Fothergill belonged.

A certain Samuel Leeds, an illiterate man, who had been a brush-maker, succeeded in obtaining the degree of Doctor of Medicine from Edinburgh University in 1766 after attending classes during two sessions, and presenting as his own a thesis "De Asthmate Spasmodico." He was a member of the Friends, and on coming to London was taken up by his own community, and partly by their help elected a physician to the London Hospital in May 1768. Fothergill, himself an old and honoured Edinburgh graduate, was imbued with a sense of the dignity of a physician's degree, as indicating both a thorough medical training and a groundwork of classical and other learning. He was vexed that the diploma had been given to Leeds, the more so as he had reason to think that the professors had favoured him as an Englishman, a Quaker, and one supposed to be a particular friend of Fothergill. The

method of conferring degrees then usual did not always demand evidence of full qualification. When Leeds further obtained an important hospital appointment with responsible duties, Fothergill's disapproval was emphatic, and he expressed it in conversation at his own table to Dr. Dawson, a colleague of Leeds at the hospital, who was breakfasting with him. Take care, he said, of Dr. Leeds, that he do no harm to his patients.

It was not long before the governors of the hospital found cause for uneasiness. Fothergill's words, which seem to have been repeated, may have had influence. Complaints were made of Leeds' incompetence, and some subscribers threatened to withdraw their support. The governors of the hospital in consequence passed a resolution, that no physician should continue to hold office who had not obtained the Licence of the College of Physicians. Leeds was therefore obliged to present himself for examination, and having failed to satisfy the college censors had to resign his post in June 1770. Disappointed and discredited, he turned against Fothergill, ascribing the loss of his position to the doctor's action. As they were both Friends, he laid a complaint against Fothergill before the church authority, the "Monthly Meeting" of Westminster, in November 1770. That body, of which Fothergill was a prominent member, was naturally averse to taking up the matter; a committee was however appointed, but the issue dragged on from month to month, and in the following April Leeds appealed to the superior body, London "Quarterly Meeting."

A weighty committee of fifteen Friends was set apart to consider this appeal, but, shortly after, both parties agreed to submit the difference between them to arbitration, according to the rules of the society, under bond of £2000 to abide by the result. Five Friends, Leonard Ellington, Daniel Mildred, William Smith, Lewis Weston and John Sherwin, were chosen as arbitrators, and Leeds and Fothergill were heard before them. Leeds' charges against Fothergill were three: that he had said that Leeds had obtained his diploma surreptitiously; that he had bidden Dr. Dawson take care that Leeds did no harm to his patients; and that he had told Lettsom that Leeds and another had brought some disgrace on the society, a statement repeated by Lettsom in a letter to a friend in Edinburgh. Fothergill replied that he might have said he had been informed that the degree had been obtained surreptitiously, and he could quote his informants (he afterwards obtained evidence of this on affidavit); that the advice

to Dawson in conversation at his table was justified, and was only due to humanity ; and that his words on a like occasion to Lettsom were also justified, as the degree had been given, he believed, by an undue condescension, to a person whom the College of Physicians judged to be unqualified.

Much to the surprise of Fothergill, the Friends arbitrating decided, by three voices to two, in Leeds' favour, casting Fothergill in £500 damages. The latter was now much perplexed as to his right course. For some time he thought of submitting to the decision, although he believed that the award could be proved to be partial and unjust. But it seemed to be a public duty to secure a more equitable judgment, and so clear the society from dishonour. Moreover, he had some grounds for objecting to the procedure. Time which he had requested for the production of a material witness had not been granted, and no damage had been proved to have accrued from his words ; the arbitrators themselves seem also to have given some countenance to an appeal to another tribunal. After careful consideration and advice he declined to comply with the award, anticipating that the matter would be carried to the final church authority, the Yearly Meeting.

Leeds now applied again to the Monthly Meeting (November 1771) to admonish Fothergill to perform his part. A few days after, he entered the award in the Court of King's Bench, for the issue of a Rule to compel the observance of the bond. Fothergill was not sorry to hear of this, since he felt that in a public court he should obtain justice. For his own protection it was needful for him to enter his defence at the Court during the same term, else it would have been excluded by law, and he would have been liable to imprisonment without bail. Leeds made this act of Fothergill's a fresh ground of complaint, and continued to move both the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings for satisfaction. During the period of two years, in which the matter was in agitation, it came up twenty times before the Monthly Meeting, and thirteen times before the Quarterly Meeting, often at special adjournments. Long sittings were held and some party spirit was shown. The most serious and able Friends in London laboured on committees to adjust the difference. It would be injurious, so they felt, to the reputation of the society, that two of its members should be at variance in a public court of law. Much effort was therefore made, both in and out of meetings, to induce the parties to desist from legal action. Fothergill, though at first unwilling, and making conditions—that the

award should be quashed, and that points of law and of medical ability should be referred to counsel and to physicians respectively—yet afterwards agreed to submit the matter to be finally determined by the society. Leeds and his friends, however, stood upon the award, and he even maintained that he had not gone to law with Fothergill, but that the latter had filed affirmations to dispute his right, and he declined to withdraw his plea from the Court.

Despite therefore all that Friends could do, the cause came on before the Court of King's Bench in May 1772. Leeds was heard, and when his case was finished, the court intervened, and declined calling on Fothergill's counsel, Lord Chief Justice Mansfield stating the unanimous opinion of the judges, that the award **must** upon Leeds' own evidence be set aside as partial. The judge exposed poor Leeds' ignorance to public derision, and expressed himself strongly, that Fothergill had only done his duty in the remarks that were complained of. This decision seemed to be conclusive. Nevertheless Leeds pursued Fothergill with all the ingenuity of a disappointed plaintiff, and for six months more continued his efforts to stir up Friends in his behalf. They still patiently heard all he had to say, and summoned Fothergill also once more before them, but the final minute of the Quarterly Meeting confirmed the report of a new committee, signed by fourteen Friends, stating their unanimous opinion that Leeds' fresh complaint was groundless and unjustified by evidence.

The support that Leeds found in this affair showed, much to Fothergill's surprise and grief, that there were a number of persons even in his own **community** ill disposed towards him. He was wounded in the house of his friends. Perhaps they had grown tired of hearing Aristides called the just. Moreover the habit of mind of a busy physician, quick in his work, and though gentle accustomed to be obeyed, did not always conciliate opposition. It was, they complained, "the Will of the strong Man, armed with Affluence, Reputation and Power. *Hoc volo, sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas.*" The trouble proved a bitter lesson to him, but perhaps a useful one, for he lived to overcome envy by patience, and to keep his **temper** unsoured. In the words of G. Thompson, "he rose superior to all discouragements, and persisted with unshaken resolution in the kindest acts of **humanity.**"

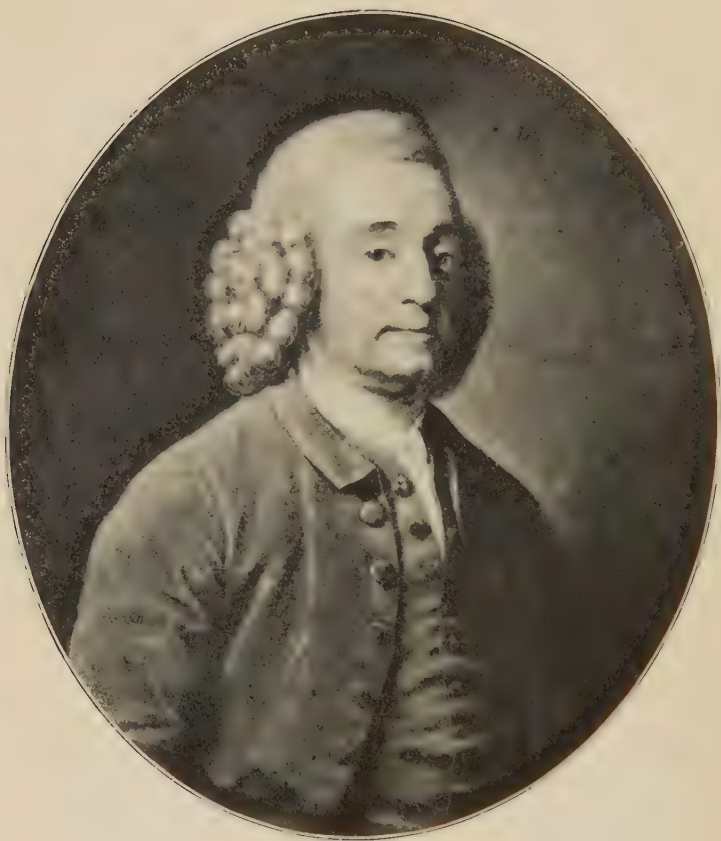
As to poor Leeds, he kept an apothecary's shop in Bishopsgate for some time, and afterwards went to Ipswich, where he died in poverty in 1773. During his last illness his necessities

were ministered to by an unknown hand ; it was whispered that it was the hand of Fothergill.¹

Little need here be said of another matter, Fothergill's relations with the Parkinsons. He tried to act as peacemaker in a dispute between a young Friend, brother to Sydney Parkinson the explorer, and Mr., afterwards Sir Joseph Banks, in whose service the explorer had died. As is the fate of some peacemakers he turned the ire of the young disputant upon himself. Those who have the curiosity to read the story in the prefaces to Parkinson's *Voyage* can have no doubt of Fothergill's justice and generosity throughout.²

¹ See Elliot's *Fothergill*, p. x ; *Works*, iii. p. cxlvi ; MS. Minutes of Meetings concerned ; MS. Letters from and to Fothergill, Fds. Ref. Lib. ; [W. Smith, L. Weston & J. Sherwin] *An Appeal to the Quakers on the late Difference*, etc., 1773 ; *Gent. Mag.*, 1773 ; 1781, pp. 165, 205 ; *The Georgian Era*, ii. 327 ; Dr. S. D. Clippingdale, in *London Hosp. Gazette*, No. 172, 1913, p. 183 ; B. W. Richardson, *Disciples of Æsculapius*, ii. 444 ; Darlington, *Bartram and Marshall*, p. 507 ; *Journ. Frds. Hist. Soc.* iv. 109 ; *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, xxxvi. 493 ; Letter to the Author from Mr. John Millar, Univ. Edin. ; Thomson, *Life of Cullen*, i. 654-657 ; Hutchinson, *Biographia Medica* ; MS. Records & Recollections of James Jenkins, 1761 to 1821, p. 167, Fds. Ref. Lib.

² *Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas in the "Endeavour,"* from the papers of the late Sydney Parkinson, draughtsman to Joseph Banks, Esq., 1773. Fothergill bought up the remainder of the edition for the benefit of the brother's destitute children, and circulated it, adding an explanatory preface of his own to clear himself from the unjust reflections conveyed in it. This brother was excitable and impracticable, and died in an asylum before the book was published. See also *Fds. Quart. Exam.*, 1877, p. 97. A letter from S. Parkinson to Fothergill, 1770, relating his circumnavigation of New Zealand, is in Fds. Ref. Lib.



BARON THOMAS DIMSDALE, M.D.

(1712-1800)

From a Mezzotint in the Friends' Reference Library, London

CHAPTER IX

BARON DIMSDALE—INOCULATION FOR SMALLPOX

The physician that bringeth love and charity to the sick, if he be good and kind and learned and skilful, none can be better than he. Love teacheth him everything, and will be the measure and rule of all the measures and rules of medicine.—SAVONAROLA.

La Persécution aigrit les Esprits. La Liberté de Conscience au contraire amollit les Cœurs les plus endurées, ramène les opiniâtres de l'Obstination la plus invétérée, et étouffe les Disputes si funeste à la tranquillité de l'État, et si contraire à l'Union qui doit régner entre les Citoyens.—TSARINA CATHERINE II. of Russia, MS. Instructions, in Museum at St. Petersburg, 1787.

THE practice of the inoculation of smallpox seems to have arisen in various countries at an uncertain period in the past.

It was long used in India, and was thence introduced into China. Some ages later, towards the end of the 17th century, history tells that it was brought to Constantinople from Greece. Meanwhile it existed already in other parts of the east, and in some European countries, for example in Wales and in Scotland ; but it was in the hands of old women and the wiseacres of the country-side, and had not come to the ears of the learned. Fothergill was the means of showing that inoculation had also long been practised among the negroes of the American colonies.¹

There is then evidence of the discovery, made probably by accident, and it would appear independently in various lands, that smallpox could be artificially conveyed through a lesion of the skin to a healthy person ; that it there produced a much milder form of the disease, developing more quickly²

¹ Letter of Cadwallader Colden, 1752, communicated by Fothergill to the Medical Society (of Physicians), *Med. Obs. & Inq.* i. 227.

² The patient sickened on the 8th, 9th or 10th day, instead of from the 13th to the 20th day (Dimsdale).

and very seldom fatal; and that the inoculated person was then safe from future infection. It was called "buying" or, in China, "sowing" the smallpox, and children were often brought to a person sick of the disease for this purpose.

It is well known that Lady Mary Wortley-Montagu found the operation established in Turkey; that her strong mind and practical instincts discerned its value, and that she had the courage to submit her only son, a boy of six years, for inoculation in 1717. It was introduced soon after this, partly by her efforts, into England; was tried upon six criminals in Newgate under promise of pardon; then upon a Quaker infant, Mary Batt, of Hertford, in 1721, the six domestic servants of the house taking the natural disease by caressing her; and later upon many others, including the two young royal princesses in 1722. The practice reached America at the same period, commencing at Boston in 1721, through the efforts of Cotton Mather and Dr. Boylston. In Britain a storm of opposition, and a blast of pamphlets and sermons against this "dangerous and sinful practice,"¹ checked its advance for a long time, but could not prevent its ultimate progress, and by the middle of the century through the advocacy of Mead and others the method had made much way on both sides of the Atlantic, although medical opinion was but half convinced.

In order to understand the case for this new practice, we must remember that the natural smallpox was in those days an extremely common and fatal disease, attacking all classes of society, and disfiguring those whom it did not slay. Queen Mary II. died of the complaint in 1694. The great bulk of the people had already suffered from it, so that its ravages at any given time were confined to the fraction which had not been attacked hitherto. One person, it was computed, died out of every five or six who sickened, and these deaths formed one-fourteenth part of the total deaths from all causes in the London bills of mortality.² In the inoculated disease on the other hand the fatalities seldom exceeded even at this period one in a hundred cases. As time went on, advances were

¹ The Rev. Mr. Massey, preaching at St. Andrew's, Holborn, on Sunday, July 8, 1722, declared that inoculation was first put in practice upon Job by the devil, who thus raised his blood to such a ferment as to throw out a confluence of inflammatory pustules all over him from head to foot.

² Dr. J. Jurin's statistics for the city of London for 42 years, 1667 to 1686, and 1701 to 1722. *Letter to Dr. C. Cotesworth*, London, 1723. Dimsdale in his *Tracts on Inoculation*, 1781, gives similar statistics for a later period of 34 years, showing that one-eighth of the total deaths occurring to those over two years of age were due to smallpox.

made in the mode of operation, especially by Dr. Kirkpatrick ; and Heberden exerted himself to make the best method well known.¹

But it was Daniel and Robert Sutton, the sons of a surgeon at Debenham, Suffolk, who during the years preceding 1765 so improved the practice of inoculation as to render it acceptable and popular. The operation was by this time overlaid with many accessories, preparatory and consequent—purges, emetics, bleedings, blisters and anodynes—so that the process had become a very serious and costly one. Daniel Sutton had the sagacity to select those remedies and means which were really helpful ; and he set up as an empirical inoculator holding an infallible secret.² People came to him in crowds, and his success was great. He published in his old age an account of his system : the chief points comprised the use of one puncture only, of spare diet, refrigerant drinks and cool air. The Suttons' ways were closely studied and adopted by another worker, Dr. Thomas Dimsdale, a friend of Fothergill's, who became one of the leading inoculators in Europe. Before entering further into Dimsdale's work something must now be said of his origin and history.

Thomas Dimsdale came of an old medical family. His grandfather, Robert Dimsdale, surgeon, of Theydon Gernon in Essex and later of Bishop Stortford, was an early Quaker confessor and accompanied William Penn on a visit to America in 1684 : an oaken box curiously ornamented with his penknife on the long voyage is still preserved in the family. He printed in that year, "at the Sign of the Book and Three Blackbirds," a small pamphlet : "Advice how to use his medicines, which he chiefly designed for his old friends, who earnestly desired it of him before he left England."³ His son,

¹ The Royal College of Physicians of London in 1754 declared the practice of inoculation to be "highly salutary to the human race." But even in 1769 an anonymous writer opposed inoculation as "perverting the order of nature [and] of the great Disposer of things, who has ordered every disease so as to be for the benefit of his creatures." See *The Nature of Inoculation Explained*.

² Daniel Sutton styled himself in 1769 "Professor of Inoculation in the kingdom of Great Britain, and in all the dominions of his Britannic Majesty." B. Dominiceti, *Medical Anecdotes*, 1781, p. 449 note.

³ Joseph Smith, *Catalogue of Friends' Books*. Much search has failed to reveal a copy of this tract in any English or American library, public or private. R. Dimsdale was excommunicated in 1663 for practising physic without the Bishop's licence. He also lay long in Hertford gaol (about 1672) on a writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, i.e. arrested as an excommunicate for

John Dimsdale, married Susanna Bowyer and pursued the family calling at Theydon Gernon, where Thomas Dimsdale was born in 1712, in the same year as Fothergill.¹ Young Dimsdale acted as pupil to his father, who had "an extensive practice in physick," until the latter's death; he then studied successively under Joshua Symonds and John Girle, surgeons at St. Thomas's Hospital; quitting that school about the time that Fothergill entered it. He settled as a surgeon at Hertford, where the elder branch of the family had left a high medical reputation.

The year 1745 was a period of national alarm and distress: England was at war on the continent of Europe,

conscientious refusal to pay tithes. Besse, *Sufferings*, i. 250; W. Penn, *Description of Pennsylvania*, 1683. This Robert Dimsdale, who seems to have joined the Friends, had a father of the same name at Hoddesdon, and a brother, John Dimsdale, who settled at Hertford, where both he and his sons, Robert Dimsdale, M.D., and Sir John Dimsdale, M.D., were men of some note, holding the mayoral and other offices. This branch of the family became extinct. A certain William Dimsdale or Dimsdel of Ware was probably connected with the family; a young man who forsook the Friends in 1673. See W. Haworth, *The Quaker converted to Christianity*, 1674.

¹ Another son of Robert Dimsdale, William, was a surgeon at Bishop Stortford, and became the ancestor of the Dimsdales of Hitchin, Hertford, and Upton, some of them medical men and some bankers. Allied with this branch was the Cockfield family of Upton. It was through his valued friend and patient, Zachariah Cockfield, a Quaker shipowner, that Fothergill purchased his house and botanic garden at that place. Joseph Cockfield, son of the former and also a friend of Fothergill, was a writer, a man of scientific and antiquarian tastes, and a Friend of liberal views. "It is in the sphere of active life," J. Cockfield wrote about 1785, "that the true Christian must move. The solitary cell and the crucifix may suit a religious drone," but they ill accord with "the sweet and social principles of Christianity." Its votaries should be less anxious about meats and drinks and ritual observances, and should labour more to be useful to our fellow-creatures and innocent in life. J. Cockfield's daughter Sarah, who had been inoculated by Baron Dimsdale in her childhood, and had acted as T. Clarkson's amanuensis in his work for the abolition of slavery, married Joseph Dimsdale of Upton. She is remembered by some still living as a charming old lady, dwelling in a house full of curiosities in Bruce Grove, Tottenham: she died in 1860. Her grandson was the late Sir Joseph Cockfield Dimsdale, Bart., P.C., M.P., Lord Mayor of London in 1901-2, and long Chamberlain of the city. Fothergill had a ward, Priscilla Pitts, left an orphan very young, and placed under his guardianship by desire of her father, William Pitts of Southwark, a Quaker minister. She was "most wisely and tenderly cared for" by her guardian; the poet John Scott was one of her admirers, but she married with Fothergill's full approval, in 1773, John Dimsdale, surgeon, of Hitchin, father to Joseph Dimsdale of Upton. E. G. Dimsdale, *MS. Memoirs of the family*; Nichols, *Lit. Illust.* v. 753; John Scott, *Poet. Works*, 2nd ed. p. 200; *Letter, J. F. to Dr. Ducarel*, Gibson MSS. v. 225, Fds. Ref. Lib.; Jos. Smith, *Catal. Fds. Books*, s.v. J. Cockfield.

and had to meet rebellion at home, the army of the Young Pretender penetrating as far as Derby. The people formed public associations for providing men, horses and arms, as well as large subscriptions of money to enable the government to meet the crisis. The ancient testimony of Friends forbade their being concerned in these warlike preparations, but some of them, moved with loyalty to the king and his cause, raised funds for a large supply of warm clothing for the soldiers, for it was in the depth of a severe winter.¹ It is stated, on doubtful authority, that Fothergill, then a young man, took an active part in this work. In the Meeting for Sufferings he firmly upheld Friends' testimony against war, and was prime mover in the issuing of a paper very uncompromising in its tone. In the next year, 1746, after the rebellion had been quelled, the Meeting issued an Address to King George II., couched in language of fulsome congratulation on the result; perhaps a solitary instance of such congratulation in the public documents of Friends. The first draft of the paper was referred back to the Committee which had prepared it, and of which Fothergill was a member: on its revision it was passed unanimously. Later addresses to royalty, as in 1760 and 1775, in which Fothergill seems to have had a leading part, are of a different tenor.²

There was need, too, of surgical help for the soldiers, and Dimsdale, having lately lost his first wife, Mary

¹ It is said that 10,000 woollen waistcoats, ample and double-breasted, were provided by the Friends in four or five days. See *Gent. Mag.* and Longstaffe, *History of Darlington*.

² MS. Minutes of Meeting for Sufferings, 1745 and 1746. R. M. Jones, *Quakers in American Colonies*, p. 360; M. E. Hirst, *Frd's. Quart. Exam.*, 1918, p. 300. The Address of 1746 has lately been reprinted. In a letter (16.4.1746) to Eliza Bartlett, afterwards the wife of Henry Gurney, which is among the Dimsdale MSS., Fothergill, who had lately returned from Scarborough, writes of having passed Lord Lovat several times upon the road; when that aged Highland rebel, sick in body but still stout of heart, was being carried up to London. At Leicester, his party lodged in the same house, "where," says Fothergill, "I found means of procuring Friend Barnard and her companion to be admitted into his room," doubtless on a religious visit. He was on his way to the Tower for trial and execution. The letter adds, "It is amazing how eager people are to see the shocking spectacle. Scaffolds and stands are erecting all about Tower Hill, and half a guinea per head given for places." To view it, he concludes, "I would not be hired."

Brassey, and being disengaged, offered his services free of charge as a surgeon to the army, and, these being accepted, continued in that office until the surrender of Carlisle. He was not now a member of the Friends. Dimsdale married again, in 1746, Anne Iles, and with this lady, as well as by the decease of Sir John Dimsdale's widow, acquired a considerable fortune. Retiring from practice, he resided at the Priory, Hertford, a house built on the site of an old monastery, and here many sons and a daughter were born to him. The house is no longer standing, having been removed about 1906. The increase of family claims led him to resume medical work as a physician, and to this end he graduated M.D. of King's College, Aberdeen, in 1761.

It was after this that Dimsdale turned his attention to the practice of inoculation for smallpox.

As has already been noted, the Suttons of Essex introduced about this time an improved method. This method was used, according to their own account, upon 17,000 persons, with only five or six deaths, and these not attributable to the operation. Dimsdale studied their work, and devoted himself to the practice of inoculation both amongst the poor and the rich. His experience became very large and his success great. His methods, which were published in a series of papers, with a free acknowledgment that they were based upon the Suttonian practice, comprised the following measures. A fortnight's regimen in preparation was enjoined, in which no animal food was taken, nor fermented liquors, nor spices: a "preparative" powder containing calomel, crabs' claws and tartar emetic (gr. $\frac{1}{8}$) was given occasionally, followed by a saline. The matter for inoculation was often taken from another recently inoculated person at the point of insertion; or similar dried matter was used. A minute incision¹ was made in the skin of the arm, seldom drawing blood, and was touched with the charged lancet; this is contrasted with the large wound formerly inflicted, in which a string steeped in pus was laid, the wound sometimes sloughing in consequence. Dimsdale not infrequently operated on children in their sleep without awaking them. No dressing was applied. One or more of the powders and purging salts were given on subsequent days.

¹ Fothergill urged, as early as 1754, that the slightest scratch with the point of a needle was sufficient. *Works*, i. 226.

Moderate exercise was used, if possible in the fresh air, not shrinking from the cold; and cold water was given to drink. In some cases even feverish patients were taken into the air, and this was done in all cases when the sweating had abated. The eruption was generally slight, consisting of not many spots, but sometimes it was abundant, with fever and distress, an event which could not, he says, be avoided. Precautions were taken against infecting others.

Under the care thus exercised, the results were excellent, and it is clear from Dimsdale's writings that the operation was brought in the hands of himself and others at that period to a high perfection. His first paper on inoculation was published in 1767: it passed through seven editions, and was translated into various languages. In it he states that during many years' practice he had but one death after inoculation, and that attributable to other causes. Dimsdale was now much resorted to; many people coming to Hertford to be inoculated under his care. There is no doubt that there was at this time something like a *furore* for the operation.¹ The prize poem for the year 1772 at Oxford University celebrated its benefits. Pierced with deep anguish at the ravages of the monster smallpox, Lady M. Wortley-Montagu seeks a heaven-taught nymph, Inoculation—

Whose potent arm, with wondrous power endued,
Had oft on Turkey's plains the Fiend subdued.
Then fraught with mighty power her arm outspread,
And thrice she waved it o'er the Monster's head:
"By me protected shall they now deride
Thy baffled fury and thy vanquished pride."²

¹ Charles Blackstone, brother of Sir William Blackstone the lawyer, writes from Winchester, January 24, 1767, to his friend Seymour Richmond of Sparsholt, Berks. His wife was resolved to make trial of the new method, and was going to Hertford for the purpose, with two maids, to a house ready furnished. He suggests that his friend should buy into the same lottery—"a lottery very different from our catch-penny state lotteries! a lottery which (under Providence) has had 9000 prizes and not one blank, oh, rare lottery!"—alluding to 9000 persons inoculated by the Suttons. A letter one month later reports his wife quite recovered, with only six pocks on her face. "Dr. Dimsdale has everything to recommend him as an operator, sagacity, tenderness, diligence, and genteel behaviour." MS. Letters in possession of J. J. Green, Hastings, who has made collections on the Dimsdale family, pedigree, etc.

² "Beneficial Effects of Inoculation," by W. Lipscomb. *Oxford Prize*

There was ruling at this time in Russia the celebrated Empress Catherine II., sometimes called the Semiramis of the North. She had come to the throne without legal right after the assassination of her husband. Catherine was a person of masculine strength and ability and passionate nature; of extraordinary dignity, and great personal charm. The infatuate libertinism of her private life cannot be condoned, though its enormity must be measured in relation to her age and country and the rank she occupied. This remarkable woman, the friend of Voltaire and the *philosophes*, led her people forward during the many years she reigned over Russia, in the ways of civilisation and of culture. Art and literature shone at her court. She had a zeal too for free institutions, and if she did nothing to liberate the serfs, at least she softened the cruelties of the penal code, and granted some toleration to the non-conforming churches.¹

Amongst the benefits Catherine sought to bring into her land, was the use of inoculation to stay the ravages of smallpox, which was excessively fatal in Russia; and in order to offer an example to the whole nation, she proposed to subject herself and her own family to the operation. The Russian minister in London, M. Pouschin, was ordered to make private enquiry for the best British operator: he was probably himself a patient of Fothergill's, at any rate the latter's advice was sought. Fother-

Poems, ed. 1839, p. 15. His cousin, George Lipscomb, surgeon, was a stout champion of the method, even after Jenner had introduced vaccination. See his *Manual of Inoculation*, 1806, in which he quotes Dimsdale; and his *Cowpox Exploded*, 1806, etc.

¹ Some one has drawn her portrait in lurid lines, hardly just to its better features: "Take the map of the Empire of Russia for canvas, the darkness of ignorance for background, the spoils of Poland for drapery, human blood for colouring, the monuments of her reign for the cartoon, and for the shadow six months of her son's reign." Waliszewski, *The Romance of an Empress*, trans. 1894, i. 290. On the other hand the traveller and artist, Charles Fox of Falmouth, visiting St. Petersburg towards the end of her reign in 1787, found displayed in a silver cabinet in the Museum Catherine's "Instructions," written in her own hand, for the formation of a new code of laws. In these she outlines liberal institutions for Russia; "and though," C. Fox writes, "the pride and selfishness of the nobles occasioned cabals, that would have rendered it extremely dangerous to attempt carrying the plan into execution at that time, yet it is to be hoped the season may arrive . . . to break the shackles of feudal bondage." C. Fox, *MS. Journal of Travels in Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Russia*, 1787. See also at head of this chapter.

gill, an early advocate of inoculation, had approved of his friend Dimsdale's method, and had advised him in his publications; he now recommended his friend for the office: Dimsdale accordingly met M. Pouschin at Fothergill's house in Harpur Street. After some persuasion from the latter, Dimsdale accepted the invitation made to him, that he should journey to St. Petersburg (Petrograd) for the purpose of inoculating the Empress and her son the Grand Duke. The minister asked him to name his own terms, but Dimsdale left this entirely to the Empress. Most people considered it a very hazardous enterprise, but he set off "with great cheerfulness and gaiety," July 28, 1768, taking with him his son Nathaniel, who was then a student of physic at Edinburgh.

The journey was a long one, but ample and generous preparations were made by command of the Empress. After crossing to the Netherlands, they travelled rapidly, night and day, in a comfortable chaise, under the escort of a sergeant, "without feeling the least fatigue"; and, including a few days' rest at Berlin, Dantzic and Riga, accomplished the journey from Amsterdam to St. Petersburg in exactly one month.

Arrived at the capital they waited on Count Panin, the Prime Minister, who was very friendly. With him was Baron Cherkasoff, who had been educated at Cambridge and now presided at the College of Medicine in St. Petersburg. His friendship was throughout of great value to Dimsdale. These two men belonged to houses still famous in Russia. The Empress was herself away, but on her return to the court the visitors were introduced to her presence. A series of letters which Dimsdale wrote from St. Petersburg to an intimate friend in London, Henry Nicols, conveys to us the vivid impressions made upon his mind. "She is," he writes, "of all that ever I saw of the sex the most engaging: her affability and good sense are amazing." She has "a way of pleasing, without appearing to have an art." The Empress treated Dimsdale with great graciousness and confidence. As

the English doctor, so she told her nobles, had come without making any terms she considered him as a gentleman who paid her a visit, and he should have all the respect she could show him. A large house, sumptuously appointed, was set apart for him and his son, and was protected at his request by soldiery for the sake of secrecy and isolation ; a coach and four attended them all day. He dined sometimes at the Empress's private table, and had a general invitation to the Grand Duke's court at all hours and meals, " the oftener the better." The court was brilliant, the palaces magnificent : a great theatre was maintained in one of them at the imperial expense, free to the public, where French and Russian plays, music, masquerades, seemed to be without end. Amid these scenes Dimsdale and his son led an idle and luxurious life ; but all the time Dimsdale's mind was burdened by his errand : " Many corroding cares disturb me, and embitter all this greatness which I am not able to enjoy."

At a second private interview the Empress, he writes, " told me her resolution was taken to be inoculated, but enjoined the most perfect secrecy. I besought her to let me have the assistance of the physicians, to whom I should communicate my whole plan. Her answer was : ' I know my own constitution very well, and will answer any questions, but have taken a resolution to repose the most absolute confidence in you alone, and insist on no persons being acquainted with my design.' I bowed and promised obedience, but with great anxiety." Just then it came to his ears that some one of repute had said that he wished the English doctor success : that he had a good deal of spirit, but that if he undertook to inoculate either the Empress or the Grand Duke it was more than any man that knew Russia would do. He had indeed a perilous task. Had either case proved fatal Dimsdale's life would have been threatened. Tradition relates that the Empress had arranged for a service of fleet post-horses to convey the doctor out of the kingdom in such an event.

Dimsdale now proceeded to some preliminary operations. His son inoculated two cadets aged about fourteen years, taking the matter from a poor man's child, which was sick of smallpox and afterwards died. One of the cadets fell ill of fever and vomiting on the second day ; and continued to lie in a serious condition. Dimsdale deemed that this trouble was foreign to the inoculation, and said so, ascribing it to a surfeit of fruits, but under the circumstances it was not a little disquieting. The Empress had reports of the case twice daily. " I saw her," he writes, " when things were at the worst. She said : ' I will not have you look dull and unhappy, I shall take your word for it, and you shall inoculate me whenever you think proper : I even long for the happy day.' This was indeed a cordial." The boy lost his fever, and both subjects had the disease but slightly. Dimsdale then inoculated five others with matter from another patient.¹ Strange to say, the usual signs failed to develop in all these cases, but an inflamed pustule appeared at the point of insertion. This event perplexed him greatly ; it had never happened to him before, nor did it afterwards. Had he only known it, Dimsdale was here on the verge of a discovery. The virus of the disease had become in some way attenuated, and the resulting disorder was closely akin to *vaccinia*. Dr. Joseph Adams had a like experience in 1805 : from a case of natural smallpox which had been inoculated in the interval between infection and outbreak, he cultivated a strain of virus which produced only local pustules, like those of *vaccinia*, and he continued the strain through eight series of cases.

After consideration Dimsdale came to the conclusion that these five persons must have passed through the natural smallpox at some early period of their lives. He desired they might all be inoculated again, in the old manner, with a long incision, and gave his opinion that

¹ The case was one of natural smallpox ; the eruption was full, but favourable and distinct, and the pocks near the time of maturation ; the patient was shut up in a room with a foul atmosphere, but recovered nevertheless.

they would not be susceptible. The Empress approved : it was done ; and not the least symptom followed. They were as Dimsdale thought protected, but it was in truth by vaccination.

He then inoculated three healthy children, to provide matter for operating on the Empress. A message reached him from the latter desiring him to fix a time, and to bring one of these boys secretly to the palace in the night, where he would find her prepared. "I could scarcely believe my eyes," he writes, "for it seemed absolutely improbable that her resolution would continue. However, in obedience to her commands, at nine o'clock on Sunday, Oct. 12th, I was carried in a coach, taking the selected child¹ wrapt in a pelisse with us, to a gate of the palace ; and was met by Baron Cherkasoff, who alone was entrusted with the secret, and conducted by back stairs to a little room where her Majesty waited. Here she was inoculated alone, with one puncture on each arm. All this being done in the night, no one knew of it, and I returned to my lodgings ; but next morning privately slipped into one of her Majesty's coaches, and with eight horses and three postillions was brought hither (Czarscoe Selo) where her Majesty had arrived a few hours before. A pretence had been found for her going to this palace, and the inoculation was not known till the fifth day. She has had the smallpox in the most desirable manner : a moderate number of pustules, and complete maturation, which now, thank God, is over, and I find an inexpressible load of concern removed from my breast."

Dimsdale wrote an account of the Empress's case. He gave her his mercurial powder on the fifth day, followed by a dose of Glauber's salt, which was repeated twice in convalescence. He had brought some of his powder with him from England, but proposed to give her some prepared by her own chemists. Her Majesty

¹ It is said that the boy, Markoff, was ennobled for his share in the operation, receiving the surname *Ospiennyi*, *ospa* signifying smallpox ; the family now occupies a high position in the country. Waliszewski, *op. cit.* i. 283.

said, " Let me take your own : I prefer it to any other " ; does it not tell, he adds, a little romantic ? The patient did not, it appears, stay in bed, although feverish on the seventh, eighth and ninth days. She walked every day in the open air from two to three hours, until the eruption appeared, which was nearly coincident with the fever. She had a sore throat from the twelfth to the fourteenth day : she took solid food almost throughout, and returned well to St. Petersburg on the twenty-first day.

The Grand Duke underwent his operation on 2nd November. This was again an anxious proceeding, as the boy, about fourteen years old, was of a tender and delicate habit, and had had trouble in his glands and throat. He had been brought up by his great-aunt, the Empress Elizabeth, in the most injudicious and extraordinary manner. Dimsdale requested his two medical attendants to assist, but they declined the responsibility, as did a third ; they put, however, every information at his disposal. A careful regimen of restricted diet, fresh air, mild purgatives and bark, was carried out for some time beforehand. The inoculation was made by a slight puncture, no dressing was used, and the patient walked out daily, even when feverish ; only on one day he lay down for a while. There was considerable sore throat, but he had the disorder very favourably : four pocks on the face, and from twenty to forty elsewhere.

Universal joy prevailed at these results ; for the Russian nation in general adored the Empress and the Grand Duke. The compliment and privilege Dimsdale received were enough, he said, to make him distracted. " I thank God," he writes, " that I have sense enough to know that my consequence is like the fly on the chariot wheel. Everyone is mad to be inoculated. It will be impossible for me to avoid more business than I can execute properly. Our patients consist of the first nobility. I have been slaving all day : all the patients go on well. I have been told by Count Panin (who could not show me more kindness if he was my own brother) that another honour remains for me—*éclatant* was the

word. I am to inoculate one of the archbishops. I dare say this is intended to strike at the root of all religious scruples." Altogether Dimsdale inoculated about 140 persons at the capital, and all did perfectly well.

Nothing had as yet been said as to Dimsdale's reward. His friend Dr. Ingenhaus, who had inoculated the imperial family at Vienna, had just been appointed councillor and chief physician, with a pension for himself and his wife, besides large presents and court privileges. About the middle of November, Dimsdale received a message from the Empress, that she had the highest sense of his services, and was desirous that the name of Dimsdale might be honoured as long as Russia existed, and with that purpose had determined to create him a Baron of the Empire.¹ The public declaration of his nobility was made on a day appointed for Thanksgiving, in the presence of a court brilliant beyond expression. The new Baron kissed the Empress's hand, receiving from her at the same time a present of £10,000 and miniatures of the Empress and Grand Duke. He was appointed physician to her Majesty and *conseiller de l'État*, with the rank of major-general and an annuity of £500.² The dignity of Baron was also

¹ The following is taken from a copy of the patent of nobility, translated : " We Catherine the Second by the Grace of God Empress and Autocratrix of all the Russias . . . make known [that] in justice to the rare merit of Thomas Dimsdale English Gentleman and Doctor of Physic whose virtue and laudable concern for the good of mankind . . . induced him . . . to apply all his . . . faculties towards improving the inoculation of the smallpox, as the only rational preservative of the human species against that mortal disease, and . . . [who] has raised this practice to such a degree of perfection, as that all the apprehensions of danger from the smallpox in the natural way may be . . . dispelled ; who, regardless of his private Interest, and intent only upon accelerating human Happiness, did not hesitate to lay open to the World his Discoveries ; who . . . refused not on our invitation to leave his Family and to visit our Court, purely to render Us all the services in his Power, . . . and who at last did with remarkable Care Skill and Success actually inoculate as well Us Ourselves and Our beloved Son the Czarowitz and Grand Duke, as also many inhabitants of Our Capital, and who thus removing the anxious Fears of our Faithful Subjects destroyed at the same time that baleful Hydra Prejudice, and the dreadful apprehensions of this (hitherto) fatal disease. We have been pleased to testify to the said Thomas Dimsdale our grace and favour, by such . . . marks of distinction as shall not only tend to his . . . Honour for ever, but may also excite his Posterity and other Learned Men, . . . to pursue such studies and Investigations of Nature as may prove equally beneficial to the human Species."

² He received also from an old Count, whose children his son had inoculated, a parcel of £500 in gold coin, with which, he says, he went limping out of the house ..

conferred upon Nathaniel Dimsdale. A few days later Dimsdale was invited to a shooting excursion in the country with the Empress and four of her noblemen. The day was spent, he says, most enchantingly, "her Majesty shot nine moorfowl and I shot four." On these occasions, he adds, the Empress commands all ceremony to be laid aside, and it pleases her to forget her greatness.

At a later date Dimsdale and his son set out for Moscow, having inoculated a little girl whom they took with them to furnish material. Owing to delays on the bad roads—they were following the army marching against the Turks—the eruption came out before they arrived at the city, where, however, they successfully inoculated upwards of fifty patients. Whilst at Moscow Dimsdale suffered from a severe pleuritic fever, but at the end of two months' stay he returned to St. Petersburg by sledge. Here he had to attend the Empress in a similar disorder; taking personal charge of her case, and undergoing, he states, great anxiety on her behalf; he bled her to eight ounces, the imperial surgeon having refused to do so. Happily she recovered, and at length Dimsdale and his son were able to take their leave, and to return, laden with gifts and honours, by the same comfortable mode of travel, to their own land. *En route* they paid a visit to Sans Souci, Potsdam, where they were graciously received by the King of Prussia, Frederick the Great.

Dimsdale returned home in 1769, and in the same year he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. He continued to practise inoculation at Hertford, where he opened an inoculation house¹ which was much resorted to, and in 1774 he gave this treatment by the command of the king to Omiah, a native chief brought from Tahiti by Captain Cook. In 1778 he was engaged in a controversy with Dr. Lettsom, who promoted a Dispensary for

¹ A small isolated house, now called the Stant Farm, and near to the Hertford Gas-works, has been long known by tradition as once a receiving house for sick persons, and was probably Dimsdale's Inoculation House. It originally belonged to the same manor as the Priory. William and Samuel Graveson of Hertford, and R. T. Andrews, Hon. Treas. East Herts Archæological Society, have kindly afforded local information on Dimsdale.

General Inoculation. The purpose of this institution was to inoculate the poor at their own homes. Dimsdale opposed the plan, on the ground that infection would be spread in the crowded houses and narrow courts where the children played together; the operation was, he said, much better and more favourably done in the Inoculation Hospital—an airy house, standing in four acres of ground. The controversy soon degenerated into a personal one, pamphlet reply being quickly followed by rejoinder, and if it was Dimsdale who first took up the contentious pen, that of the younger doctor was dipped in the bitterer gall. Perhaps the dignity of the Baron led him to pose as an authority—"the Great Inoculator," as Lettsom styled him, "who claimed an exclusive right to the theory and practice of inoculation." On the other hand, the wounded vanity of his antagonist caused him to heap unmeasured satire and reproach upon his former friend. Fothergill tried in vain to dissuade them from the unworthy contest, derogatory he thought to the honour of their profession. Dimsdale comes out the better of the two from the encounter, and their strife does not seem to have led to a permanent estrangement, Lettsom in after years writing Dimsdale's biography for the *Gentleman's Magazine*.¹

A second visit was paid to Russia in 1781, in order to inoculate the two sons of the Grand Duke, Prince Alexander, afterwards well known as Czar during the Napoleonic era, and his brother Constantine.² A diary of this visit was written by the Baron's third wife, who accompanied him. The volume, elegantly bound, is still preserved in the family; it is adorned with a fine portrait of the Empress, illustrations of buildings, etc. The visitors were received, we are told, with much state and also great cordiality.³ It is said that the Baroness

¹ See the various pamphlets by Dimsdale and Lettsom on Inoculation, printed in 1778 and 1779.

² The Czar Nicholas I., who died at the outset of the Crimean War, was a much younger brother.

³ The Empress wrote to Dimsdale, Sept. 25, 1781: "Le papier que M. le Baron Dimsdale m'a remit hier, je le regarde comme une nouvelle preuve du même zèle et attachement pour ma personne et ma famille qu'il n'a cessé

nursed the young princes until their recovery, and that they called her their English mamma. On the way home a visit was paid to the Emperor Joseph II. at Vienna.

After his first visit to Russia Dimsdale entered on banking in London in conjunction with his sons, founding the well-known house which still bears his name. In 1784, having declined all medical practice except for the relief of the poor, he was returned to parliament as Tory member for Hertford, retiring in 1790 in favour of his son Baron Nathaniel. After passing some winters at Bath, he died at Hertford in 1800, at the age of eighty-eight years. He was buried, by his own request, in the Friends' ground at Bishop Stortford, though he had long ceased to be a member of that Society, having been "disowned" in 1741 for "marrying out"; yet he styled himself in 1796 a "zealous Friend." About seventeen years before his death he was operated on by Wenzel for cataract and his sight restored.

Baron Dimsdale was a practitioner of high ability, and seems to have cultivated medicine in a scientific spirit. As a man, he was kindly and philanthropic: a gentleman, urbane and tactful, his tranquil disposition carried him through many varied experiences to extreme old age. A fine miniature of Dimsdale was painted by Andrew Plimer in 1790, but was unfortunately stolen from the National Portrait Gallery, London, in 1904, and never recovered.¹ He printed privately in 1783 a Tribute, appreciative if inaccurate in detail, to the

de me temoigner depuis que j'ai le satisfaction de la coñoitre, aussi peut il etre assuré de ma tres sincere reconnoissance. Je n'oublierai jamais qu'il a delivré du fleau de la petite verole naturelle moi, mon fils, et mes petits fils." He brought from Russia miniature portraits and other tokens, including two coats that belonged to Catherine's grandchildren, profusely ornamented with gold, etc.; these are still treasured in the family. The Baroness, who long survived her husband, living on, crippled by rheumatism, at Hertford, used to tell anecdotes of her imperial charges. One day, Alexander, aged about six years, "feeling ill, ordered his attendant to go and fetch his purse. This being done, he took out two pieces of money, told the Baroness he should die, and gave them to her to keep for his sake." The other boy, more boisterous in disposition, followed suit. *MS. Journal of Margaret Woods, Fds. Ref. Lib.*

¹ A good copy of this miniature by Henry Bone is in the hands of the family, and a photograph is at the Gallery, besides engraved portraits.

Memory of Fothergill, his "friend and adviser for more than forty years." It appears that the latter had at one time thought that a son of Dimsdale might succeed to his practice.¹

The practice of inoculation was continued to the close of the eighteenth century. Dr. John Haygarth indeed formed a plan for exterminating smallpox by its means from Great Britain. He first carried it out with much success in his own city of Chester. In 1778 he laid his more extensive scheme before Fothergill, and the latter brought it to the notice of his medical friends. It had however but a mixed reception, varying "in proportion to their humanity." The mode of infection was at that time often in dispute. Fothergill used to tell the story of a medical wig which conveyed the disease from London to Plymouth. His relative Waterhouse capped the tale with like incidents that had come to his own knowledge; one doctor, after visiting a smallpox hospital, "neglected to smoke his wig," and conveyed the disease in consequence to his daughter. Haygarth on the contrary maintained that the infection was only aerial.²

Inoculation was at length superseded by vaccination, for which it had in truth paved the way. Jenner published his work on the *Variolæ Vaccinæ* in 1798, and five years later the Royal Jennerian Institution was founded, and the new practice came into large employ. Inoculation, however, was still used by many for a long time; and in some countries, for example Persia, it is practised at this day; but in England it fell under general condemnation, and in 1840 was prohibited by the first Vaccination Act as a felony.

It was considered, in the first place, that inoculation tended to spread the disease, although in a milder form. This seems to have been true, for the necessity of isolation

¹ On Dimsdale see, besides the references in the *Dict. Nat. Biog., Biographical Catalogue of the Friends' Institute*, London; Soc. Frds. MS. Registers; L. Turnor, *Hist. Hertford*; Berry, *Herts Pedigrees*; Extracts and MSS. in Frds. Ref. Lib.; Eliz. G. Dimsdale, MS. *Memoirs of the Family*. The account of the first visit to Russia is chiefly taken from MS. letters to H. Nicols, and other papers in the possession of Dowager Lady Dimsdale, who has most kindly allowed the author to make use of them. A description of Dimsdale's visits to Russia is given in E. A. B. Hodgett's *Life of Catherine the Great*, 1914, c. xvi., based upon a French MS. preserved in the Imperial Archives in Petersburg. This is evidently for the most part a translation of Dimsdale's narrative in his *Tracts*. Several books and tracts on Inoculation were published by Dimsdale at Petersburg in 1770. See his *Thoughts on Inoculations*, London, 1776, and *Tracts on Inoculation*, 1781; *Gent. Mag.*, 1801, i. 88, 209, ii. 669.

² Haygarth, *Sketch of a Plan to Exterminate the Casual Small Pox*, 1793, pp. 1, 265, 320.

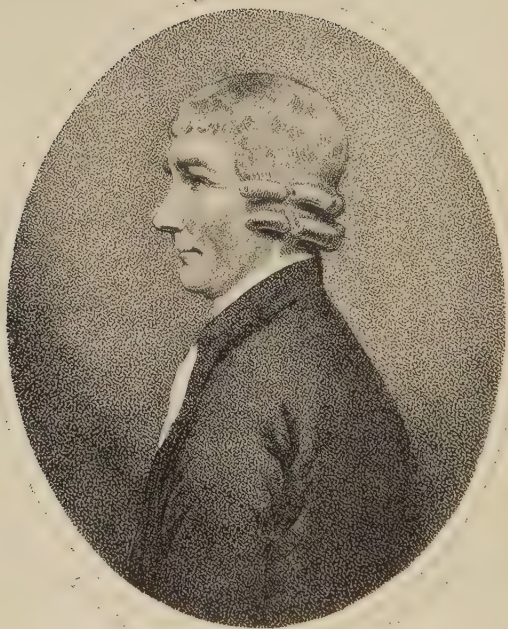
was not then fully understood, in spite of the enlightened practice of Haygarth, and of Waterhouse and others in America. The deaths from smallpox in London actually continued to increase and attained a maximum after the introduction of inoculation. But towards the end of the century the mortality declined, and was sensibly less before vaccination was introduced. After the latter event the fall in the death-rate was rapid, and in our own time although it still fluctuates it has nearly reached zero. The general improvement of health from other causes must of course be taken into account.

It was further objected that many of the inoculated cases were severe and some fatal, and lastly that the operation was not invariably protective. It must however be borne in mind that the experience of Dimsdale, Adams and others shows that the risk could be reduced with due care and skill almost to vanishing point, and that there is no such thing as absolute protection ; which is conferred neither by vaccination nor by any other prophylactic method, nor even by a previous attack of the disease. Upon the whole Sir Thomas Watson's opinion seems to be justified, that the advantage derived by the individual from inoculation was counterbalanced by the increased risk to the community.

Inoculated smallpox and vaccinia appear to be essentially modifications of smallpox, altered by transmission through man or animals. Dr. Copeman has indeed demonstrated by experiment the intimate relationship of the three disorders, which he thinks are probably descended from one common stock. The mild inoculated disease has become attenuated in passing through the human system by the way of inoculation. In this process the virus is introduced amongst the epithelial cells of the tissues, where it sets up a free local growth ; and it appears, according to our present knowledge, that the spores or parasites lose certain of their properties when they enter the system in this way. When smallpox is acquired in the ordinary manner, presumably by the air-borne parasites entering the air passages, those which succeed in overcoming the leucocytes and entering the tissues produce the more severe disorder. The attenuation of the virus in inoculated smallpox may also be due in part to a higher degree of immunity present in the subject in whom the inoculation is made ; for it may be assumed that the average immunity of those inoculated is higher than that present in a person taking smallpox in the ordinary way. Vaccinia is probably derived from the mild inoculated disease, further

modified by repeated transmission through the bovine animal. It then ceases to produce a general eruption, or to be infectious in the ordinary manner, whilst still protective against the major disorder. Dr. W. T. Councilman of Harvard University has found certain minute bodies (cyto-ryctes) in the cells of the tissues, having two forms: the one form (probably asexual) is found in the protoplasm of the cell in cases of vaccinia: the other form (probably sexual and rapidly multiplying) is found within the cell-nucleus in the acute disease. The life-history of the parasite depends upon its host: in the calf or rabbit it follows the milder cycle only, and vaccinia is the result: in man or monkey it goes on to the more active cycle, and variola is developed, although in the case of the monkey only the slighter (inoculated) form occurs. The doctrine of the attenuation of a disease virus by passage through a living animal, which was founded by Pasteur and others upon Jenner's original suggestion, has come to include other diseases besides smallpox, especially rabies, typhoid fever, cholera and plague; and the prophylactic measures thus derived hold the field, in the present state of our knowledge, as the best means of defence against these scourges of the human race.¹

¹ Authorities: Woodville, *History of Inoculation*, 1796; see also *Phil. Trans.* lviii. 140 and elsewhere; S. Miller, *Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century*, p. 1354; Jas. Moore, *History of Smallpox*, 1815; Jos. Adams, *Answers to Objections to Cowpox*, 2nd ed. 1805; also his *Account of the Hospital for Smallpox, Inoculation and Vaccination*, 3rd ed. 1817: he gives the mortality of inoculated cases as follows: In-patients (9 years), *nil*; Out-patients (6 years), 1 in 1000 (p. 27): his strain of mild inoculated smallpox is recorded on pp. 11, 12; Dr. E. M. Crookshank, *History and Pathology of Vaccination*, 1889, i.; W. Farr, *Vital Statistics*, pp. 304, 305; Sir T. Watson, *Lectures*, 1848, ii.; Dr. S. M. Copeman, *Natural History of Vaccination*, Milroy Lectures, 1899, and *Modern Methods of Vaccination*, 1903; also article in Allbutt's *System of Medicine*, 2nd ed. II. i. 746; Dr. F. M. Sandwith, *Clin. Journ. Lond.* xxxvi. 317-329; Dr. W. T. Councilman, *Journ. Med. Research, Boston*, xi., Feb. 1904; also in Osler and McCrae, *System of Medicine*, ii. 254, etc.; Drs. W. G. Armstrong, J. B. Cleland and E. W. Ferguson, of Sydney, N.S.W., *Proc. Roy. Soc. Med. Epidem. Sect.*, Nov. 1914, where an epidemic disease is described, said to be a mild type of smallpox, occupying a half-way house between it and vaccinia; in one case parasites in the cell protoplasm were found. Was this identical with "inoculated smallpox"? In view of Dr. Copeman's researches on a similar epidemic at Cambridge in 1903, was not the attenuation of the disease due to bovine transmission? It seems to have been brought by men working on cattle-boats.



— C. J. —

Amicus humani generis

CHAPTER X

DR. LETTSOM

Enthusiasm has its place, not only in action, but in writing ; quite as much as critical analysis and judicial impartiality have theirs.—Admiral MAHAN.

At this time there seems to be a spirit pervading Europe, equally novel in its nature and effects : princes begin to view men as beings like unto themselves, and people to feel their own importance, and that freedom and independence are the true springs of industry and happiness. May these sentiments, which have sprung from the American revolution, continue to inspire princes and subjects, until at length that perfection of government be established under which the happiness of the ruler and the ruled are synonymous.—Dr. LETTSOM to Franklin, 1785.

DR. JOHN COAKLEY LETTSOM was the biographer of Fothergill, who was his patron and friend. Like Fothergill, he was a Quaker physician of large practice in the metropolis, distinguished for scientific tastes and for philanthropy.

Lettsom was born in 1744 in the island of Little Vandyke in the West Indies. His father, Edward Lettsom, a Friend, owned the islet, and raised cotton by the labour of fifty slaves, whose cottages stood upon a hill-side near his house. He had also a sugar plantation on the adjacent island of Tortola. The mother of Lettsom bore, so it is said, seven pairs of twin children, all males ; Lettsom and his brother Edward were the last, and the only survivors. His father's family came from Letsom¹ in Cheshire, and his mother was descended from the Coakleys, baronets in Ireland. Being sent to England

¹ Perhaps Ledsham, a village six miles north-west of Chester. Mr. John H. Cooke of Winsford, author of "*Bibliotheca Cestriensis*," has kindly furnished the author with information.

to the Rawlinsons, Friends at Lancaster, at the age of six years, in order to his education, the boy met Samuel Fothergill, and by his advice entered the Friends' School at Penketh. Here he engaged heartily in country pursuits. Young Lettsom's father dying, S. Fothergill became one of his guardians, and he was placed by the latter in 1761 with a well-trained apothecary, Abraham Sutcliff, of Settle, a man of high repute in that district. Under his supervision Lettsom acquired the medical art, besides giving attention to botany and the Latin and French languages. Lettsom never forgot what he owed to his old master, and procured for him many years later a Doctor's diploma, that he might retire to a less arduous kind of practice.

Leaving Settle, Lettsom went up to London with an introduction to Dr. Fothergill, who became his warm and steady patron. He took one year's course at St. Thomas's Hospital, where he entered under Benjamin Cowell. He worked early and late, examining patients, reading up his cases and taking notes. One of the physicians to the hospital was Akenside, a haughty figure in his white wig and long sword; his harsh manners to his poor patients repelled Lettsom's kindly heart. After this, in 1767, Lettsom returned to Tortola to take possession of what was left of his family property; this consisted chiefly of negro slaves, to whom he gave their liberty, leaving himself almost penniless. "I could no longer withhold from them," he says, "the natural privilege of freedom, which Heaven had conferred upon me. I never repented," he adds, "this sacrifice; indeed Heaven has cancelled it long ago, by refunding innumerable unmerited blessings, and what I estimate still more gratefully, a heart to diffuse them." This was at a period when many even of the Friends were not yet convinced of the evil of slavery. His freed negroes sometimes sent to him in after years some little present, a coral or a shell. In 1784 he received a pot of sweetmeats from Teresa, a beautiful mulatto.¹

¹ J. J. Green possesses the original Deed of Sale, dated July 10, 1768, from Samuel Taine of Tortola, cooper, to J. C. Lettsom, M.D., for £200

Hè was touched by the attention: "Thy master," he soliloquises, "will probably never see thee in this world; in the next thou mayest appear white as a European." In later life Lettsom advocated gradual emancipation.

In Tortola he entered into medical practice, for which the young man showed so much aptitude as to attract crowds of patients; he would prescribe for fifty or one hundred of these before breakfast; and he acquired in the space of five months nearly £2000. One half of this sum he gave to his mother, and with the rest set out again for Europe, determined to follow the example of Fothergill as a physician in London. Landing in England in 1768 he took under the latter's advice a further course of medical training, studying at Edinburgh under Cullen, and at Paris, where he was introduced by Franklin to Dubourg. He heard Albinus and Gaubius at Leyden, and graduated M.D. there in 1769, with a thesis on the medical qualities of tea. Fothergill, who was a shrewd judge of character, perceived his talents, and wrote to W. Logan¹ that he was likely to make a considerable figure in the metropolis.

After some further travel, Lettsom began practice as a physician in the City of London, much aided by the advice and countenance of Fothergill, who had lately removed to the west. Fothergill's niece, who met him often at her uncle's house, where he breakfasted almost weekly, has much to say of the foibles of the young doctor, to whom nevertheless she was indebted for many a pleasant escort to visit objects of interest in the town. His flow of conversation, his frequent confidences and gallant trifling, seemed to her Friendly mind extraordinary. The "volatile Creole," as he once styled himself, was, however, soon adapted to English life, and fixing his affections on Ann Miers, the daughter of a

current, of "a Molater Boy named Sam and a Molater girl named Teresa"—with their reversion, profits, issue and increase, for ever. Lettsom may have bought them for his mother before he left the island, perhaps setting them free on purchase.

¹ MS. Letter, May 8, 1769, *Coll. Phys. Philadelphia*. Fothergill also wrote a letter in 1768 recommending him to Friends in Edinburgh as having "acquired a just degree of esteem" (*Journ. Fds. Hist. Soc.* ix. 123).

wealthy tin-plate merchant in the city, a Quaker like himself, he married her in July 1770. His wife, to whom he was ever kind and attentive, survived her husband.

Meanwhile he was constantly pursuing medical and scientific studies. Although his type of mind was not that of the patient student, he had an uncommon power of work, and great readiness in the use and display of his knowledge; whilst his easy and familiar manners—Fothergill was rather “perpendicular” for his taste—made him many friends. He obtained the licence of the College of Physicians in 1770, and was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in the same year.

Lettsom lived in Sambrook Court (now the Wool Exchange), Basinghall Street, hard by the Guildhall of the City of London. The house has long since gone. There for many years he carried on the largest medical practice in the city. The death of his patron, Fothergill, in 1780, and that of Dr. Thomas Knowles, another Quaker physician, in 1786, much increased his work. Quick of perception, ready and resourceful, and full of the *bon-homie* of life, Lettsom acquired a repute which his medical attainments alone would hardly have given him. “I live with my patients,” he said, “in the most frank sociality.” He had, too, a sincere sympathy with the suffering. He held no hospital appointments, but was physician to the General Dispensary in Aldersgate Street, which he helped to found in 1770; it became the parent of many like institutions.

In 1772 Lettsom published a small work on Fevers, a subject which interested him all his life.¹ In his “Medical Memoirs of the General Dispensary,” 1774, he attributes fevers to a specific human contagion rather than to miasmata and other reputed causes. His treatment of these disorders was ever marked by courage and good

¹ *Reflections on the General Treatment and Cure of Fevers*, 1772, an anonymous work, based upon authorities, ancient and modern, including Cullen, to whom he refers. Lettsom does not therefore seem open to the charge, which has been brought against him, of using Cullen's views without due acknowledgment. His own practice in the West Indies had afforded him experience in this department of medicine.

sense ; he used the bark freely, and cold fresh air of the dawn—*aurora salutifera*.

He took the leading part in 1773 in founding a medical society on a new and representative basis, since well known as the Medical Society of London. In its interests he worked assiduously through good and ill fortune, sparing neither his time nor his money ; his name is perpetuated in the annual Lettsomian lectures. The establishment of this society is Lettsom's chief title to honour in his own profession, and it will be more fully dealt with in another chapter. Before the society he read many papers on medical topics, some of which were published, including an oration on the History of Medicine (1778). In a paper on Hard Drinking, published later in life, he traces the various effects of alcohol with much acumen, distinguishing several types of cases. He deals especially with the effects upon women, and describes the symptoms which are now known to be due to peripheral neuritis—the wasted paretic lower limbs, the smooth shining skin of the soles, which are exquisitely tender, and the involuntary spasms and cramps.¹ Lettsom read a paper before the Royal Society in 1786 on a case of intussusception in a child of four years. He wrote much also, as we shall see, upon inoculation for smallpox and on vaccination. But he put forth no work of outstanding importance ; his genius was too discursive in its range. He was a practical physician and had a happy way of treating patients. Some of his prescriptions have come down to us.²

¹ *Hints respecting the Effects of Hard Drinking*, 1798. He tells of a man who cured himself of drinking by dropping daily a little sealing-wax into his dram-glass until in course of time it was filled. He concludes with a "Moral and Physical Thermometer" or Scale of Temperance, an idea derived from Dr. Rush. Water stands at the head, and small beer a little below ; these produce health, wealth and happiness. Cider, wine, porter and strong beer are set lower down ; they still promote cheerfulness and strength, when taken moderately and only at meals. All stronger liquors are placed below zero point. These are punch, toddy and grog, "flip" and "shrub," and "hysteric water." Still lower come morning drams of gin and whisky ; and, worst of all, those taken in the night. All these lead to many vices, ranging from idleness to murder, to a long list of diseases, and to penalties, which begin at debt, and end in the hulks, Botany Bay and the gallows.

² Thus in rheumatism, he used *Tinct. Guaiac.* with honey and *Aq. Camph.*, and in the acute disease, *Ipecac.*, *Antim. Tart.* and *Aq. Menth. Vir.* In dropsy

The scientific pursuits of Lettsom were also varied. As early as the year 1773 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. He followed Fothergill in his interest in botany, and brought out the "Naturalist's and Traveller's Companion" in 1774—a book containing instructions for preserving plants and other objects of natural history. In his garden at Camberwell he cultivated rare plants and trees, and he took thither the chief contents of Fothergill's greenhouses after the latter's death.

In 1786 he had a collector searching North America for plants and ores. He was a liberal supporter of his friend William Curtis, the apothecary and botanist, helping him freely with money in the issuing of his *Flora Londinensis*, and the second volume of that magnificent work was dedicated to Lettsom, "the friend of humanity, the patron of science." Curtis had a Botanic Garden and Library in Higler's Lane, Lambeth Marsh. A genus of convolvulaceous plants was named after Lettsom by Roxburgh in 1814.¹ His interest in minerals led him in 1784 and later years to send out to Professor Waterhouse more than seven hundred specimens of metallic ores, crystals, etc., for the use of the students in the Cambridge University, New England. The collection was the finest of the kind in the United States; it was catalogued and kept in a spacious room devoted to the purpose.²

he gave *Pot. Super-[Acid] tartrat.* with *Inf. Junip.* He treated *fluor albus* with turpentine, rhubarb and extract of hop. For dyspepsia, chalk and magnesia, with cardamoms and infusions of clove and quassia; or rhubarb, *Pot. Sulph., Syr. Papav.* and peppermint. Amongst laxatives, he used senna, jalap and *Magn. Sulph.*, made up with tamarind infusion. [Nesbitt], *Memoirs of Physicians and Surgeons*, 2nd ed. 1818, pp. 550-561. Also MS. prescription in the Author's hands. *Phil. Trans.* lxxvi. 313.

¹ The *Lettsomia* are handsome climbing plants from the East Indies, and have long been known as *Ipomœa*, but the earlier name is now restored to them. See *Bot. Mag.* 2628; *Kew Index*. A beautiful shrub now included in *Freziera* has also been known as *Lettsomia*, the name bestowed in 1794.

² Dr. John E. Wolff, professor of Petrography and Mineralogy at Harvard University, informs the Author that Lettsom's specimens are now presumably incorporated in the great collection which is under Dr. Wolff's care. Lettsom also sent plants of Turkey Rhubarb to America in 1786 for cultivation; and he presented books to Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, on its foundation in 1783. See *Mem.* i. 101, 192. Dr. Rush named a tract of land in Pennsylvania after Lettsom; it was situated on Sugar Creek, which empties itself into the northern branch of the Susquehanna, and is shown in old maps of the district, as is another tract named after Fothergill. Sir St. C. Thomson, *Trans. Med. Soc. L.* xli.

Lettsom bestowed much pains on the introduction of the mangold-wurzel into England in 1786, and calculated that a square yard of his garden planted with it produced fifty pounds of salutary food. It disappointed at first the hopes of its promoters, and a rhymester made Lettsom and his mangold-wurzel objects of ridicule. But he was justified in the end, and half a million acres in the United Kingdom are to-day planted with this useful root.¹ He urged also the use of maize-flour to be mixed with that of wheat in making bread, then at a high price, and showed that it would reduce the cost of the quartern loaf from eightpence to sixpence. He also advocated a sort of "hasty pudding," made with the same Indian flour and boiling water, after the fashion of Scotch porridge.

The pen of Lettsom was ever busy. Many of his publications took the form of "Hints," and their subjects ranged over a wide area. Hints respecting Crimes and Punishments, respecting Wills and Testaments, respecting Persons imprisoned for Debt; Hints respecting the Deaf and Dumb, respecting Schools for the Poor, respecting a Repository for Female Industry, for promoting a Bee Society; Hints respecting a Village Society (in happy Camberwell), respecting Female Servants, respecting the Chlorosis of Boarding Schools, respecting Human Dissections, respecting Useful Literature; Hints addressed to Card Parties—such were some of his topics. We may perhaps smile at his method of addressing the public. Here was indeed no stern reformer; his academic Whig opinions never came into conflict with the powers that be; nay, it was bad literary form to express himself with decision; it was enough to say: "The man of urbanity, who reflects upon the fatal carnage of war . . . must unavoidably regret," etc. Yet a perusal of his Hints will show us that most of them contain suggestions of value; some bore fruit in his own time in works of social improvement; others held the germs of reforms for which the

¹ *An Account of the Culture and Use of the Mangel Wurzel or Root of Scarcity, translated from the French of the Abbé de Commorell*, 4th ed. 1788. Preface signed by Lettsom. He boiled the leaves for eating at his own table. Nichols, *Lit. Anecd.* ix. 40; *Mem. Lettsom*, i. 106, iii. 117.

world was not yet ready. Critics indeed and malign opponents were not wanting. An entertaining article on "Dr. Wriggle, or the Art of Rising in Physic" came out in 1782, in which his weaker traits, of course grossly exaggerated, were played upon by a jealous fellow-physician.¹ It was true that he liked to be in the public eye, and to see his portrait and memoir in a magazine; but his love for the rôle of a philosopher and philanthropist was based on real kindness of heart; voice, pen and purse were equally at the service of all good works.

It was a day of the formation of societies and institutions for all manner of useful purposes; a large number of these sprang up in London from the year 1780 onwards. There were societies for the Suppression of Vice, for the Publication of Select Religious Tracts, for the Encouragement of Good Servants, and for many other objects. Some became permanent and useful institutions; others were ephemeral. Lettsom was President of some of these societies, and Vice-President of others; his part in the Humane Society will be spoken of elsewhere. He took also no little interest in the reform of prisons.²

In dealing with the poor he recommended the system of relief used by the Society of Friends; remove, he said, the causes of distress: *principiis obsta*. His desire to help the poor in London impelled him to find some means whereby scrofulous children could obtain the benefits of sea-bathing in a climate adapted to their cure. Associating with himself two other men of public spirit, J. Nichols and Rev. J. Pridden, he purchased in 1793 two acres of land on the cliff at Margate, and here founded the General Sea-Bathing Infirmary, which was opened in August 1796. The original building has since been greatly added to, the number of patients accommodated

¹ The arts by which Dr. Wriggle succeeded to Dr. Worthy (Fothergill) are detailed. *Westminster Magazine*, 1782, p. 466; *Mem. Lettsom*, i. Corresp. p. 21.

² Lettsom was consulted on the disinfection of Newgate after the death of Lord George Gordon from fever in that prison in 1793. He took a leading part in setting up the statue of John Howard in St. Paul's Cathedral, and in introducing to the public James Neild's accounts of the state of prisons from 1803 to 1813 (*Gent. Mag.*; *Mem. Lettsom*, i. 109).

has increased from 40 to 180, and the institution, under its present title, the "Royal Sea-Bathing Hospital," continues to carry on a work of the highest usefulness, which has been imitated in other places. Lettsom much enjoyed his yearly visit to the Infirmary, driving down from London through the night, and spending three days at the place; it was almost the only holiday he ever found time to take. Three of the wards still bear his name, and the hospital is an abiding monument of his genius.¹

Lettsom enjoyed for many years a large income from his practice; it reached £5000 before he was forty-five years of age, and even rose to £12,000 in a single year. He was extraordinarily quick in seeing his patients. Meeting Dr. William Saunders at a consultation one day, he showed him his long list. "My dear doctor," said Saunders, "how do you manage? Do you write for them by the dozen? or have you some patent plan of practising by *steam*—my much *esteemed* friend?" His fondness for the fair sex set the lying tongue of scandal moving, and his foibles did not escape the satirists, who wrote of him:

When patients used to come to I,
'Twas "I physics and I sweats 'em,"
When after that they chose to die,
It did not grieve—I. Lettsom.

In generous deeds I gave my pelf,
And though the world forgets 'em,
I never shall forget myself—
What's due to Coakley Lettsom.²

¹ *Hints*, iii. 235; *Gent. Mag.* 1797, ii. 841; 1816, i. 17. Information from the Secretary of the Royal Sea-Bathing Hospital.

² *The Wonderful Magazine and Marvellous Chronicle*, 1793, i. 346; [W. Wadd], *Nugæ Canoræ*, 1827, p. 15; *Notes and Queries*, March 10, 1906, 191; March 17, 210. A proprietary medicine, "Lettsom's Liver Pills," is still sold at a druggist's in Aldgate. The version there displayed is:

"I, John Lettsom,
Blisters, bleeds and sweats 'em.
If after that they please to die,
I, John, lets 'em."

He was indeed extremely generous with his money, jingling it in his pocket, giving to those who asked him, and subscribing to every philanthropic object. A Camberwell tradesman solicits the loan of twenty pounds for a short time. "A short time!" quoth the doctor, "I might as well give it thee; go, make good use of it." An old merchant in the American trade had fallen into trouble. Lettsom visited him, sick, in his Essex home, amongst the familiar trees which he had planted, now to be given up to others. The kind doctor left a cheque for his needs, and purchasing the freehold of his house, presented it to him for life.¹

Late one night Lettsom's carriage was stopped by a highwayman, who put a pistol to his breast and demanded his money, which the doctor gave. The man's genteel appearance and agitated manner showed, however, that he was no common thief. Lettsom reasoned with him, and gave him a card with his address, asking him to call upon him. Two weeks afterwards he came and told his troubles, and how he had lately been driven to such desperate ways, and that this was only his second attempt. Lettsom left no stone unturned until he had reclaimed him; eventually he became an officer in the army, where he did honourable service. Pratt relates also a journey Lettsom made into Wales to see a once wealthy merchant, at the suggestion of John Howard, who had met the sick man's amiable daughter at an inn. Lettsom left with his patient a small closed box, containing a prescription which would, he said, do him much good; it contained cheques from the doctor and his generous friend.²

His friend, Sir J. Martin, replied to the lampoon:

"Such swarms of patients do to me apply,
Did I not practise, some would surely die.
'Tis true, I purge some, bleed some, sweat some,
Admit I expedite a few, still many call. I. Lettsom."

For other rhymes, see Dr. F. Parkes Weber, *Aspects of Death and Life*, etc., 3rd ed. 310; *Lancet*, 1918, i. 126.

¹ W. Armistead, *Select Miscellanies*, 1851, iii. 208.

² Pratt, *Gleanings*, 7th ed. 1802, i. 182. Lettsom was very kind to Captain J. Carver, explorer of the Indian Territories, and to his family. See Fothergill, *Works*, iii. p. lxxx note; Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America*, 3rd ed. 1781.

Like Fothergill, Lettsom saw many patients without fee, and took nothing from necessitous authors and clergymen. His lavish habits made a large income a necessity to him, and kept him labouring without cease to secure it. Quick and methodical, he seldom wasted a moment ; he rose early and sat up late ; whilst visiting his patients in the morning he would walk for a couple of hours or so, and then take up his carriage, sometimes using three pairs of horses during the day. " I dine with my wife," he says, " once a week." He mentions in a letter in 1795 that he has attended 82,000 patients ; but he enjoys his work. " I love my profession, and it loves me." His friend Cuming often reasoned with him on the incessant hurry in which he lived, as he did also on his lavish benefactions ; Lettsom should apply for an Act of Parliament to extend the day to forty-eight hours. He kept up a very large correspondence, answering every letter he received, and generally at once ; often writing *currente calamo* in his carriage. His letters are lively and interesting ; and he paid much attention in his set papers to literary style. His memoir of Fothergill shows this at its best ; each topic is elegantly introduced in balanced phrases, with frequent classical quotations well displayed, and Englished in a footnote. This essay is a typical specimen of the polished literature of the period. A few sentences may be quoted introducing Fothergill's labours on the subject of education.

But the most effectual barrier against corruption of manners and the influence of vicious example, is an early and guarded education. As the sun is to the external, so is learning to the intellectual eye ; it enables the mind to distinguish truth from error, endows it with stability and strength to combat vicious propensities, and renders it susceptible of enjoying the felicities of life, without adopting its follies, or entailing its miseries. To promote this useful education, Dr. Fothergill was a liberal advocate.

Lettsom's large acquaintance included many of the *literati* of his time. Of Dr. Johnson he writes : " He was sometimes jocular, but you felt as if you were playing

with a lion's paw. . . . He had a heavy look, but when he spoke, it was like lightning out of a dark cloud." A letter to Boswell contains some plain speaking and advice upon his friend's frailties.

In course of time Lettsom built himself a country villa at Camberwell, then a pretty village, four miles south of the city. The spot was open, and commanded a wide prospect on every hand. It included the spires of London, a long stretch of the vale of the Thames, from its more rural banks to "busy Deptford's vessel-crowded shore," and some of the Essex and Hertfordshire hills beyond. The eye lit

On Hampstead's street-clad slopes so high,
Or Harrow's far conspicuous hill,

and turning southward over Surrey uplands rested on the primitive oak forest where Queen Elizabeth hunted, portions of which at that time still clothed Honor Oak Hill and the slopes of Sydenham. Here stood his villa, called Grove Hill, in the midst of pleasure grounds, orchards and paddocks. A botanical garden, well garnished with labels, and an arbustum; a reservoir, a cold bath and a Cupid's fountain; a temple of sibyls and a Shakespeare walk and statue—such were some of its adornments. The sixty-four hives of his apiary were each distinguished by the name of a nation.

Here sheets of living verdure charm the eye ;
There glow rich tints that with the Tyrian vie.
Now the gay garden with its varied sweets
My raptured sense a blooming Eden greets :
Now from the turret's height my eager glance
I roll delighted o'er the vast expanse ;
Now range yon ample lawn's luxuriant swell,
Or pensive wander down yon shadowy dell ;
Or in the cool of eve's declining beam,
Seek the sweet cottage and its spacious stream ;
While soft around the genial zephyr blows,
And murmuring waters soothe me to repose.¹

¹ From a poem by Rev. T. Maurice (author of *Indian Antiquities*), in *Grove Hill, a Rural and Horticultural Sketch*, with many illustrations, and Catalogues of Fruit Trees, Plants and American Trees and Shrubs, 2nd ed. 4to, 1804. John Scott of Amwell also apostrophised his friend and fellow-Quaker :

Tablets adorned the house on every hand, with emblems of the Seasons, the Arts, Peace and Commerce, Sovereignty and Truth ; a central group displayed the Isis of Saïs. Everything was correct, elegant and classical. Within the villa, a west wing contained the library, museum and greenhouse ; the first had sixteen departments, each surmounted by a bust ; that of Fothergill presided over medicine and botany. A museum of ores and natural and curious objects was spread upon the tables. It was a house of beauty and of learning, too rarely visited by its owner, although he loved to entertain his friends within its portals. Engravings portray for us its various aspects, with the doctor standing in his garden amongst his lady guests. Lettsom's house is no longer standing, but another villa on his grounds, near to it, and once occupied by his friend Dr. Smith, still remains.¹

“ Where Grove Hill shows thy villa fair,
But late, my *Lettsom*, there with thee
'Twas mine the tranquil hour to share—
The social hour of converse free ;

“ That business, with fatiguing cares,
For this delightful seat of thine
Such scanty store of moments spares,
Say, Friend, shall I for this repine ?
Were it the commerce of the main,
Or culture of the teeming plain,
From blame or pity I could scarce refrain.

“ But O ! to alleviate human woes,
To banish sickness, banish pain,
To give the sleepless eye repose,
The nerveless arm its strength again ;
From parent eyes to dry the tear,
The wife's distressful thought to cheer,
And end the husband's and the lover's fear ;

“ Where want sits pining, faint and ill,
To lend thy kind unpurchased aid,
And hear the exertions of thy skill
With many a grateful blessing paid—
'Tis luxury to the feeling heart,
Beyond what social hours impart,
Or nature's beauteous scenes, or curious works of Art ! ”

Poetical Works, 2nd ed. 1786, p. 190.

¹ This villa is now named Grove Hill House, and is in the occupation of Dr. Couper Cripps. Most of the park and gardens have been built over ; they extended southward down Camberwell Grove as far as what is now called Lettsom Street. Some of the old trees—a cedar before the front door,

When Jenner discovered the protective value of the cowpox, Lettsom was entering on his later decades. He had been a champion of Inoculation all his life, but he saw quickly that the new method was a great advance upon the old, and he threw the whole force of his influence on the side of Vaccination. He was in close touch with Jenner, who treated him with respect and confidence; "he fought his battles" in the metropolis, "and often signally vanquished his opponents," and he took a leading part in founding the Royal Jennerian Society in 1803. Lettsom gave evidence before the House of Commons Committee on Vaccination, and he used his pen to persuade a divided profession and a puzzled public, with all the rhetoric he could command. The cow, that "salutiferous animal" whose "lactarial fountains" nourish our little ones, was described, figured and extolled. He called upon all classes of the community to claim their complete deliverance from the ravages of the most fatal malady under heaven. Mothers, he cried, shield the endearing features of your infants under the *ægis* of Jenner! If the smallpox was a devouring river and Inoculation a boat on which to cross it, surely Vaccination was "an adamantine bridge." Saul and David had slain their ten thousands, but how many had Jenner *saved*! The final establishment of Vaccination, after years of hard fighting, both in Great Britain and in America, owes something to the medical insight and the strong human instincts of Lettsom.¹

In his later years Lettsom encountered many troubles. His eldest daughter, two sons—one in the medical and one in the legal profession—and both the widows of these

a fine horse-chestnut, mulberry, medlar and wych elm—no doubt date from Lettsom's period. A view of the Fountain and Thatched Cottage adjacent to it is in *Beauties of England and Wales*, by Gastineau; both remained until within living memory. There is still a thatched cottage near by, in Camberwell Grove. An account of a rural fête at Lettsom's villa, May 22, 1801, when five hundred talented and elegant guests were entertained, is given in *Gent. Mag.* 1801, i. 476. See also *Circuit of London*, vol. v.

¹ Lettsom, *Expositions on the Inoculation of the Smallpox and of the Cowpock*, 2nd ed. 1806; *Hints*, iii.; *Memoirs*, iii. 402, etc.; J. Baron, *Life of Jenner*, i. 517, 569, 576, 586; ii. 31, 69.

sons, all passed away within a few years ; " My path," he said, " seems to be over the ashes of my children." He had high hopes of his eldest son, whom he had trained as a physician with unsparing pains, and the young man seems to have been fully worthy of them.¹ An enduring sadness fell upon the father's life, yet, quaint even in his sorrow, he remarked that his son had quitted " the Society of Friends for that of Angels." A train of adverse circumstances, due in part to his own prodigality, but chiefly to the accommodation of a near relative, involved Lettsom in heavy losses, and he had to part with his beautiful villa and most of his library and museum ; a large fortune, which was later awarded to him, he did not live to enjoy.

But he worked steadily on, neither crushed nor embittered by adversity, attending to his lessened practice, writing, speaking, enquiring, proposing—for the public and private good. Time failed him for all that he still wished to do. " There was no crabbedness in his age. It was not like a winter, but like a fine summer evening, or a mild autumn, or like the light of a harvest moon."² He enjoyed in his latest years the friendship of a young man of scientific tastes and ceaseless activity of mind like unto his own, Dr. T. J. Pettigrew. He was Lettsom's *fidus Achates*, and became his biographer. " I am seventy years of age," writes Lettsom to Dr. Joshua Dixon, of Whitehaven, " and would fain live another year to effect some literary objects before I emigrate *ad sedes æthereas unde negat redire quemquam*." A few days after writing these lines an attack of acute illness came upon him, said to be rheumatic fever, but probably septic poisoning, following a post-mortem examination. But he must needs go out to visit a poor patient in Whitecross Street ;

¹ This son left an orphan, William Nanson Lettsom (b. 1796, d. 1865), who became a scholar of some distinction : he translated the *Nibelungenlied* (1850), and published studies on Shakespeare. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.* ; *Notes and Queries*, 3rd series, viii. 500, ix. 49. Another son, Samuel Fothergill Lettsom, died at Boulogne, 1844, aged sixty-five years. Lettsom's descendants are extinct in the male line, but are represented by families of Gronow and Elliot through female descent, and by Mrs. T. C. Colyer-Fergusson.

² Quoted by Pettigrew of Lettsom, from Southey's *The Doctor*.

he could with difficulty be lifted from the carriage, and survived but a few days; talking to Pettigrew almost with his latest breath of the Philosophical Society—the child of his old age—of which he was the President. He died November 1, 1815, and was buried in the presence of a concourse of his poorer patients, and of a few Friends, including William Allen, in the Friends' ground, Bunhill Row, where lie George Fox and Edward Burrough.

Lettsom was all his life a member of the Friends, although his attachment to the society was not close nor strict; he attended its meetings not infrequently, and he could on occasion offer a spirited defence of its principles. But his outlook was from an early period a wide one, regarding all men as equally the children of one creative Parent; hence he was tolerant of all creeds, and governed by the same instinct which led him as a young man to free his slaves. Boswell wrote truly of him:

His liberal mind holds all mankind
As an extended nation.

"I considered," he wrote in 1788, "the tenets of different religions and professions; and I thought that there was only one true religion, consisting in doing unto others as we wish others should do unto us. A demure face and sanctimonious exterior I appreciated as nothing, where beneficence was wanting." He held advanced views on the Old Testament, which would now hardly be considered unusual, condemning the evil actions of some of its saints and heroes. In an age when unbelief was common among the studious, Lettsom did not waver from his faith in a Deity of infinite perfection and goodness, whose unmerited blessings he gratefully acknowledged.¹

Those who knew Lettsom best, best loved him: his foibles were on the surface: Nichols and Pettigrew held him in real affection: "an Israelite without guile"

¹ He is said to have printed an "Essay on Religious Persecution" for presentation to his friends. Fothergill, *Works*, iii. pp. xcii-xcvii; *Gent. Mag.* 1803, 897; 1804, 19; 1815, ii. 473; Verses by Boswell, *idem*, 1791, i. 367, 564; Lettsom, MS. Letter, Jan. 22, 1788, in possession of J. J. Green of Hastings; also MS. Letter to S. J. Pratt, Feb. 15, 1797, in private hands.

writes the former, and a man of "undeviating friendship"; he won, too, the esteem of many others. In his own profession he holds a worthy place in that succession of labourers, alert and untiring, by whom from age to age the practice of medicine is advanced; and the establishment of the Medical Society upon a liberal basis was a real achievement. The spirit of emulation was strong in him. His influence in the community was one that made for good, for righteousness, and for the law of kindness; the world was a little better for his life. Throughout that life he ever remembered his debt to Fothergill: "As a medical man," he said, "my character was solely reflected from the patronage of Dr. Fothergill." "My medical creation was his." "I can hardly recollect a week without some instance of his affection and friendship."

Lettsom was tall in person, spare and erect, his complexion yellow from the West Indian climate, and the face deeply lined. His eye beamed and sparkled with animation. His figure in Medley's group of the Medical Society is instinct with geniality, conciliatory, alert; and humour is latent in the line of the thin lips, and the deep dimples of the cheeks. He dressed very neatly in the Quaker attire, but not with strictness; and wore a short wig. He was frank, genial and familiar in his address. Cold bathing night and morning, an equable and cheerful temper, and regular habits maintained him in good health; and Pettigrew states as a sign of his moderation that he would seldom exceed three or four glasses of wine after dinner. He drank strong coffee at night, sitting up very late at his writing.

The pilgrim of to-day who would see some token of Lettsom should visit the house in Bolt Court, which became the old home of the Medical Society by the gift of its founder in 1788. It stands opposite the site of that in which Dr. Johnson lived and died. He must turn out of the busy highway of the Strand, full of noise and movement, finding, if haply he may, a narrow alley which opens into a quiet court. There he will come upon an old square house, whose front presents the calm dignity

of age. Let him look upon its wide-framed windows and enter its antique doorway, and if he can disregard the bustle of close packed offices which now fill the house, let him note its massive walls and an arched recess upon the staircase where perchance a statue of Hygeia once stood. Above all let him gaze at the tablet above the door, where the genius of the place has left his mark. Little touched by age, the graceful mouldings still portray the Isis of Saïs : she is standing before a pyramid, having a sphinx on either hand : and below, within the coiled serpent of eternity, are the words, ΕΓΩ ΕΙΜΙ ΠΑΝ ΤΟ ΓΕΓΟΝΟΣ, ΚΑΙ ΟΝ, ΚΑΙ ΕΣΟΜΕΝΟΝ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΕΜΟΝ ΠΕΠΛΟΝ ΟΥΔΕΙΣ ΠΩ ΘΝΗΤΩΝ ΑΠΕΚΑΛΤΥΕΝ. (I am all that hath been, and is, and shall be, and no mortal hath yet drawn aside my veil.) Here let our pilgrim pause, ere he turns back into the stream of action, and ponder, as Lettsom would have us ponder, before the majesty of knowledge and the riddle of life.¹

¹ Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, c. ix. "The temple of Athene, whom they account to be Isis, at Saïs, had this inscription" [then follows as in text]. Isis was the "universal mother nature" (Apuleius), the revealer of medical knowledge. See also Diodorus Siculus, l. i.; and *The Times Literary Supplement*, Nov. 1917. According to Routh (Oration, 1859, *Hist. of the Medical Society of London*, p. 20) the bas-relief (excepting only the snake) is taken from a design of Gravelot's, engraved by Foudrinier, as a head-piece to section xii. of Warkwall's *Inquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer*.

Since the text was written the house in Bolt Court has been sold for demolition, and the tablet removed to the library of the Medical Society.

Pettigrew brought out in 1817 *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of J. C. Lettsom, with a Selection from his Correspondence*, in two volumes, to which a third was added later. See also *Mem. Pettigrew in Med. Port. Gallery*, iv.; Lettsom, *Mem. Fothergill*; his *Hints to promote Beneficence*, etc., 3 vols., and his other works, including, besides some already mentioned, *The Natural History of the Tea Tree*, etc., 1772; *Of the Improvement of Medicine in London*; *The Plan of a General Dispensary*, 1773; *Observations on Dr. Myersbach's Medicines*, 1776. His Fothergillian essay (1791) on *The Diseases of Great Towns and the Means of Preventing them* does not seem to have been printed. MS. Letters to Lettsom and his friends from Sir Mordaunt Martin and Dr. James Anderson, 1789 and 1790, on the cultivation of roots, and from John Player, 1802 and 1803, on the diseases of plants, etc., are in Lib. Roy. Soc. Med. See also Nichols, *Lit. Illust.* and *Lit. Anecd.*; *Archæologia*, vii. 414; *Europ. Mag.*, 1786, ii. 395; 1815, ii. 392; *Gent. Mag.*, 1815, ii. 469, 577; J. Jenkins, *op. cit.* pp. 891 ff. A picturesque sketch of the old Quaker burial-ground in Tortola is in *Friends' Intelligencer*, lx. 419. Dr. J. F. Payne's article on Lettsom in *Dict. Nat. Biog.* contains a few inaccuracies. An excellent appreciation of him is contained in Sir St. Clair Thomson's Presidential Address to the Medical Society of London; see its *Transactions*, xli., 1918. A letter of counsel to Lettsom on the occasion of his marriage, from his early patron Samuel Fothergill, is often found in Friendly collections; see J. and I. Comly, *Friends'*

Miscellany, vi. 285. Lettsom's medical and other papers passed to Pettigrew, and were ultimately dispersed in 1906, many being sold at auction. Mr. T. C. Colyer-Fergusson of Sevenoaks, who is connected with the Lettsom family, possesses among other papers his MS. "Recollections" of early life, 31 pp., which were used by Pettigrew. There are two portraits of Lettsom in oils at the Medical Society of London, besides that in Medley's well-known group described in Chapter XII., and there are several engraved portraits by W. Skelton and by Holloway.

CHAPTER XI

OTHER MEDICAL FRIENDS

Ex amante alio accenditur alius.—AUGUSTINE, *Confessions*.

Thou hast made me known to friends whom I knew not. Thou hast given me seats in homes not my own. Oh, grant that I may never lose the bliss of the touch of *the One* in the play of the many.—RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

DR. ALEXANDER RUSSELL

SOME of the medical friendships of Fothergill dated from his Edinburgh days. Russell, Cleghorn and Cuming were his fellow-students, and while life lasted they were mutual friends.

Alexander Russell sprang from a good stock in Edinburgh. He was one of the founders of the students' Medical Society in that university in 1734. Soon after finishing his studies he went out to Turkey, settling in the year 1740 at Aleppo as medical officer to the "English factory," a community of prosperous and intelligent merchants. Here he made for himself a high position; he learnt the language and ways of the people, and his own skill in medicine, contrasting with the ignorance of the native practitioners, gave him in course of time an entrance to all ranks and races in the city, then as now a motley population. The Pasha himself became his friend, often consulting him and leaning upon his advice in matters of importance quite outside the medical rôle. Many an accused man owed his life to the doctor's kind offices. Sometimes the Pasha would tell the culprit that in his opinion he certainly deserved death, but that he durst not order it, for the English doctor insisted on

mercy ; and this even when Russell knew little or nothing of the matter, till the poor wretch came to his house to fling himself at his feet in gratitude. Russell himself remarks that money went a long way in judicial decisions, but there was this in their favour : a smaller bribe was required for deciding right than for deciding wrong. Nor were the doctor's services to the factory less valued, and his reputation spread far amongst the provinces of Turkey and even in the capital itself.

His active mind enquired into the conditions and circumstances of life in the city of Aleppo and the district, the arts and customs of the people and their religion. Besides the diseases—especially plague and the Aleppo evil, both then little known in England—the natural features of the country, climate, soil, fauna and flora, all furnished material to his note-book. He took much pains to obtain the seeds of the true scammony plant, at that time much used in medicine, sending them home to Collinson and Gordon, by whom they were grown. He supplied also his friend Fothergill with the beautiful *Arbutus andrachne*, a kind of strawberry-tree.

After spending fifteen active years in Turkey, Russell returned to England. Fothergill, ever on the alert to promote the spread of knowledge, urged him to publish his researches, and he embodied them in *The Natural History of Aleppo*,¹ one of those ample quarto monographs, with large print, wide margins, illustrations and footnotes, in which our forefathers delighted. The descriptions are so accurate and judicious as to give a completeness and permanent value to the work. The author was elected to the Royal Society in the following year, and contributed several papers on natural history to its Transactions.

Russell now settled in London, having obtained the M.D. degree from Glasgow University and the licence of the College of Physicians of London, and he was soon appointed a physician to St. Thomas's Hospital, where

¹ Published in London, 1756 ; in a second edition, enlarged with notes by Dr. Patrick Russell (who succeeded his brother at Aleppo), 1794 ; also trans. into Dutch, at Leyden, 1762.

he was a colleague of Akenside. Here he had a short but honourable career, being highly valued for his ability, the liberal and easy method of his teaching, and the kindness of his character. He was consulted by the Privy Council upon a threatened outbreak of plague, on account of his special experience in the east, which had included visits to the most famous lazarettos. His answers to their enquiries were, we are told, so pertinent and satisfactory that he was asked to draw up a plan for preventing the spread of the disease, should it invade England. His useful life was cut short by a putrid fever at his house, No. 1 Church Court, Wallbrook, in 1768; the disease proving fatal notwithstanding the utmost endeavours of Fothergill and W. Pitcairn. The former read, a year later, an Essay on his character before the Society of (Licentiate) Physicians, a society in which Russell had taken a leading part. Addressed as it is to a small company who knew him well, this record of friendship for "our Russell" strikes a tender chord. Fothergill dwells upon his even, cool and consistent temper, polite without flattery, with a freedom of behaviour as remote from confidence as from constraint, disinterested and generous. His mind was imbued with a just reverence for God and with duty towards his fellows; a gentleman, without reproach.

Russell was a good clinician, and wrote papers on palsy, hydatids, general emphysema, and the use of corrosive sublimate and of mezereon in syphilis. He seems to have had much success in the treatment of fevers:

At his calm bidding the fierce flames which burn
Our mortal frame sank harmless: he subdued
Unto an even heat their blazing fires;
And when he drew the poison fangs of Plague,
Wresting from Fate itself her scissors keen,
He left to these grim shapes but half their dread.¹

¹ "Innocuas placide corpus jubet urere flammas,
Et justo rapidos temperat igne focos.
Extorsit Lachesi cultros, pestique venenum
Abstulit, et tantos non sinit esse metus."

Inscribed on Trotter's stippled portrait of Dr. A. Russell, published in his *Memoirs* of Russell by Lettsom, 1786. The lines are taken from Locke's

DR. GEORGE CLEGHORN

George Cleghorn was born at Granton near Edinburgh in 1716, being the youngest son of a small farmer who died early. The boy was placed at the age of fourteen years as pupil to Alexander Monro *primus*. This early association with the great anatomist and founder of the Edinburgh Medical School, and the years he spent under his roof, gave to the young student his bent in life ; whilst the example of Monro's unremitting work and the sweetness of his disposition had their effect in forming the character of the fatherless lad.¹ After Fothergill came to Edinburgh, Cleghorn and he became intimate friends, working together, both in the university and in the medical society, of which the former was one of the first members.

He must have been a precocious student, for he was but nineteen years old when he left Edinburgh in 1736, having been appointed surgeon in the 22nd regiment of Foot stationed in Minorca, at that time belonging to Britain. His early success did not lead him to cast off his studious habits. On the contrary, during the thirteen years of his stay in Minorca he continued to read, and spent much time in the investigation of fevers and other epidemic diseases, and in gratifying his passion for anatomy. He often made dissections, both human and of apes, which latter he procured from Barbary, and compared their structure with the accounts of the best authors. He had many books with him, including his classics, and his friend Fothergill kept him supplied with others, searching the London shops for such as he needed in his studies.

Cleghorn communicated to Fothergill in letters, written

poem addressed to Sydenham, 1668. See also Fothergill's *Essay on the Character, etc.*, 1769 ; *Med. Obs. & Inq.* i. 13, 296, ii. 88, iii. 146, 189, 397 ; *Mem. Lettsom*, i. 22, 96 ; *Phil. Trans.* xlix. 445, li. 529, lii. 554, lviii. 140 ; Munk, *Roll Roy. Coll. Phys.* ; *Hunter-Baillie MSS.* i. 133, Roy. Coll. Surgeons.

¹ He writes of his old teacher to Fothergill in 1742 : " *Quem mitem præceptorem, egregium monitorem, optimum amicum, expertus sum . . . quem vivida virtus etiam in vitæ carceribus ad summos evexit honores.*" See Letter below.

in fluent and elegant Latin, his observations on the climate and epidemic and endemic fevers of the island. His friend read them with much pleasure, and sent them to Cuming with a few words of appreciation. The letters give a charming picture of the affectionate friendship between these comrades. "Vale, mi Johannes," he writes, "iterum, iterumque, vale."¹

Cleghorn left Minorca in 1749, and came in the next year to London, where, at Fothergill's suggestion, and with his literary assistance, he published his *Observations on the Epidemical Diseases in Minorca*, with an account of the climate and inhabitants, and of the endemic distempers. The work is well done; it maintains indeed the antique form, quoting Hippocrates and Celsus often as well as the moderns; yet it is based upon the facts he has himself observed, the natural course of fevers, their reaction to remedies, and the comparative success of different forms of treatment. His model is "the incomparable Sydenham." When, however, he reasons on the facts he does not escape the erroneous theories of the time. The principal chapter in his work deals with tertian fevers, the commonest type of what we know as malaria. Experience taught him that purging and bleeding were here often hurtful, and in some cases he omitted them entirely. When the symptoms were moderate and the strength good, "I frequently trust," he says, "the whole business to nature." But the bark (cinchona), against which medical prejudice was still strong, was his main remedy, though he did not generally give it till the fifth day, when he would prescribe 5 or 6 drachms of the

¹ "VII Kal. Quinctil. A.S. 1742." Again in 1738 he writes: "Fac ut sodalibus meo nomine gratuleres, et sciant quod horum memoria usque adeo meæ menti inhæreat, ut nunquam nisi cum extremo spiritu demittatur." The climate was no light burden. "Epistolam . . . ad finem perduxì non absque molestia, scias enim me eam scripsisse æstuante summopere cœlo, solo indusio vestitum, et sudoribus obrutum.

O, qui me gelidis in vallibus Hæmi
Sistat, et ingenti ramorum protegat umbrâ!"

Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 488.

Cleghorn's letters to Fothergill are preserved, neatly copied out, in a MS. volume in the library of the Medical Society of London. (W. c. 22.)

powder to be taken in the course of twenty-four hours. The certainty of its results in controlling the course of the fever leads him in a humorous mood to quote his favourite Virgil (*Georg.* iv. 86) :

Hi motus . . . atque hæc certamina tanta
Pulveris exigui jactu compressa quiescent.

He was convinced, he says, of the innocency and efficacy of the remedy, and he heartily wished he had given it with more freedom. Elsewhere he writes of the large spleens commonly found, and which he had noted in the sheep also, but he does not connect them with the fever. Some account follows of cholera, dysentery (in which he gave ipecacuanha), pleurisy and smallpox, with reports of his own cases. He also devotes much space to a record of the weather, and of the epidemics during the course of six years. An introductory chapter gives a clear and concise description of the island of Minorca, its vegetable and animal productions, and the conditions of life upon it. The people were gay ; one-fourth of their time was made up of holidays, and they were fond of feasting and of " poetical disputes." Snails were much used for food by the poorer families. Cleghorn's book was well received ; it passed through five English editions, and was translated into German.

Whilst in London Cleghorn attended the lectures of Dr. William Hunter. In 1751 he settled in Dublin, and, emulating Monro and Hunter, began himself to give lectures on anatomy. Two years later he was appointed Anatomist in the School of Medicine attached to Trinity College, a school still in its early and rather troublous days. In 1761, the Lecturer on Anatomy having been dismissed as the result of a dispute, Cleghorn was elected in his stead. In this office he continued many years, lecturing in English instead of in Latin, to ever-increasing classes of students, drawn even from beyond the seas ; the school growing under his influence in reputation and efficiency. He was made Professor of Anatomy in 1785. In the meantime he practised as a surgeon in Dublin

and won for himself both fame and fortune. "No man knew Dublin better, and few could so readily direct a professional man as to the manner by which its inhabitants were to be pleased." Two papers from his pen were read before the Medical Society (of Physicians) in London: one on the extraction of a goose's feather from a girl's throat by means of a whalebone with springs attached; and another on an aneurysmal varix of the arm following venesection.

Having received a doctor's degree in 1768, Cleghorn began in 1772 to depute much of his lecturing to his favourite pupil Dr. Purcell, and later to his nephews, William Cleghorn and James Cleghorn, sons of a deceased brother, whose large family he brought over to Dublin that he might attend to their education. He continued to give to crowded audiences a short course of lectures upon the animal kingdom, pointing out its various tribes, and how the several organs of each creature were fitted to its mode of life—a sign of the wisdom of the Creator.

As age advanced, asthma and dropsy and "a weighty corporation of 19½ stones" led Cleghorn to decline all outdoor practice, and he lived mainly at his country house at Kilcarty; where he died in 1789, honoured and beloved. His chief title to fame is that he placed upon a worthy basis the first School of Anatomy in Ireland. Cleghorn was an original member of the Royal Irish Academy, and on the foundation of the Royal Society of Medicine of Paris he with his friend Fothergill were nominated foreign associates. The shrewd sense and justice of Cleghorn's character are illustrated in a letter he wrote to his nephew Dr. Joseph Clarke, on the latter seeking election to the mastership of the Rotunda Hospital. "My stomach revolts against the usual mode of extracting promises, and engaging votes, before the governors can be apprized of the merits of the candidates. It is founded on a supposition that all men are actuated by selfish motives, regardless of the public good. If you gain the election, I hope it will be by means fair and honourable; I would rather hear you had lost it, than

that any others had been employed. Read the tenth satire of Juvenal, and reflect on the vanity of human fears and wishes." ¹

DR. WILLIAM CUMING

William Cuming, Fothergill's most intimate medical friend, was born in 1714, the son of a merchant of high character in Edinburgh. Entering the Medical School of the university, young Cuming was one of the band of able students who founded the Medical Society there, reading himself the first paper before it, on *Rabies canina*. Leaving the university in the next year without taking a degree, he spent some time in further studies in France and Flanders, travelling in part with his friend, afterwards the well-known Dr. Robert Whytt, and attending the lectures of Boerhaave at Leyden. During a stay of three days in Rheims, the young men took out degrees in medicine at the university, after separate Latin examinations, "for a considerable space," in anatomy, physiology and various diseases. Later he visited London with a view to finding an opening for practice as a physician in a country town in England. Dr. Mead proposed Lynn, but Dr. Wm. Browne objected, because he had no degree from Oxford or Cambridge; Norwich

¹ In a poem, "The Medical Review," 1775, Dr. J. Gilborne depicts the physicians, surgeons and apothecaries of Dublin passing in procession to the Temple of Fame.

"Cleghorn in human structure can explore
What no anatomist has found before;
By sons of Irish heroes ever loved
For eloquence and surgery improved:
Exhibits goodness whereso'er he goes,
On rich and poor great benefits bestows,
Like the sun rising, without bar or bound,
Gives health and joy, and influence around."

Cleghorn's account of some rude stone monuments in Minorca in a letter to a friend, 1739, was communicated to the Society of Antiquaries. See MS. Add. 6183, p. 58, Brit. Mus. See also Cleghorn, *Index of Lectures* (Dublin, 1756); his *Memoirs*, by Lettsom; *Mem. Lettsom*, ii. 364, iii. 288; *Foth. Works*, iii. p. xcvi; *Med. Obs. & Inq.* iii. 7, 110, 229, vi. 231; *Edin. Med. & Surg. Journ.* lxxiii. (1845) p. 95; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; Dr. T. Percy C. Kirkpatrick, *History of Medical Teaching in Trinity College, Dublin*, and references there given; Kirkpatrick and Jellett, *The Book of the Rotunda Hospital*, p. 107; A. Macalister, *James Macariney*.

was then thought of. Whilst, however, he was seeking introductions to some of the chief families in the latter neighbourhood, Fothergill advised Dorchester, and Cuming accordingly went thither in 1739, carrying with him recommendations from influential physicians in London. Cuming was a man of modest and unassuming mind ; *paucis contentus vivere didici*, he says of himself—" I have learned to live content with few things " ; but his sterling worth, his learning, and the interest he took in his patients, gave him in course of time a large practice amongst nearly all the county families, who regarded him as not only their physician, but their friend. In 1752 he received the *ad eundem* degree of M.D. from his old university, and he was elected a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh soon after.

On the death of Dr. Alexander Russell in 1768, Fothergill, who had a high regard for his old fellow-student, proposed Cuming's removal to London, but his attachment to the large circle of those who had given him their confidence in Dorset induced him to decline. Later on, when Fothergill was gone, Lettsom was his successor in the bond of close friendship with Cuming, although they never actually met until the former went down to see him in his last illness. Cuming had interests outside his medical work, having a fine collection of shells, and occupying himself during four years in caring for the publication of Hutchins' *History of Dorset*, which appeared in 1774 ; he was also a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. He suffered from tenderness of the eyes for most of his life, and died at Dorchester of dropsy in 1788 ; his epitaph at that place states, that he " desired to be buried in the churchyard rather than the church, lest he, who studied whilst living to promote the health of his fellow-citizens, should prove detrimental to it when dead."

Cuming was a physician of high character, " chaste manners," and integrity ; a man of a kindly spirit, he never lost a friend he once made, and his life " glided on in a calm uniform stream " to its tranquil close. As a

practitioner he was perhaps old-fashioned. He wrote little, but part of a long medical letter to a Dr. Oliver, dated 1755, in a close antique hand, has been preserved. In this he deals with the external use of a certain oil, by means of which a young lady had been cured of a true *ascites*, after, however, tapping had been performed. He gives copious quotations from Celsus and Aetius, Asclepiades, and Oribasius, showing how the ancients used inunctions after bathing, as well as from Schenkus and Piso among the moderns, and concludes with an elegant compliment to his correspondent from the pages of Cicero.¹

DR. GILBERT THOMPSON

Dr. Gilbert Thompson was a kinsman of Fothergill's. His grandfather and namesake founded in 1687 a school at Penketh, Lancashire, ancestor to the Friends' public school at that place. Here many well-known Quakers were educated, including Edmund Peckover, Lettsom, George Harrison, and Samuel Hoare. G. Thompson was the son of William Thompson of Warrington, and was born in 1726. After serving as an usher in the family school, he left it to study medicine, graduating at Edinburgh in 1758 with a thesis on Exercise. Coming up to London, and having money left him by his uncle in 1768, he entered into practice as a physician.

Thompson had good abilities, but he was bashful, cautious, and self-centred, and Fothergill, who opened his house to his young relative, sought again and again to arouse his dormant energies. He will be either a man or a mouse, said the doctor, according as he exerts himself: "never any man hid his talents more under a bushel." After Thompson and Lettsom had spent an evening at his house, Fothergill was heard to remark that he would like to shake the two together in a bag,

¹ See Foth., *Works*, ii. 368, iii. pp. lxi, cxc, 115-142; *Mem. Lettsom*; Nichols, *Lit. Anecd.* iv. 713; Hutchins, *Hist. of Dorset*, 3rd ed. ii. 391; *Gent. Mag.*, 1788, i. 278, 364; MS. Letters to Oliver, in possession of J. J. Green; Foth. to Cuming, 1748, at Haverford College; and Huxham to Cuming, 1765, in the Author's hands.

and that it would much improve them both ; Lettsom's loquacity and Thompson's diffidence being shared between them. Thompson acted as secretary to the small Medical Society (of Physicians), and drew up at the desire of that society after Fothergill's death a short Memoir of his Life and Character, carefully and thoughtfully expressed. It is one of the sources used for the present volume. Dr. Thompson retained his quiet and unassuming manners throughout life, with an integrity of character worthy of his Quaker profession. He lived and practised in Size Lane, and afterwards in Salters Hall Court, Cannon Street, where he died in 1803. The occasional cultivation of a gentle and rather formal muse led him in 1801 to publish a little volume of *Select Translations from the Works of Homer and Horace, with Original Poems*. These betoken a classical habit of mind, and a close familiarity with Homer and with the early British poets. Amongst the poems is a Latin epigram on Blanchard, the Frenchman, who was borne through the air by means of an aerostatic globe in 1793.¹

DR. RUTTY

Dr. John Rutty, another friend of Fothergill's, came of an old family at Melksham, Wiltshire, where his father of the same name joined the Friends in 1692, and where the son was born six years later. Rutty studied medicine at Leyden in the great days of Boerhaave, and graduated M.D. there in 1723, with a thesis *De Diarrhœâ*. He

¹ "Qualis purpuream Auroram cum voce salutans
In cœlum celeri fertur alauda fugâ :
Qualis et astra ferit nervo percussa sagitta,
Gaudet et Æolios antevolare notos :
Talis se sphæræ ætheriæ moderamine Gallus
Libravit, superas ausus adire domos.
Miramur nova gesta viri, miramur et æque
Quòd levior Gallus fit levitate suâ ? "

Dr. G. Thompson married in 1771, Mary, daughter of Wm. and Ann Edmondson, late of Wray, Lancs. See on his life, *Mem. Lettsom*, i. 10, 21, etc. ; MS. Letters of Dr. J. Fothergill, Frds. Ref. Lib. ; MS. Journal of Betty Fothergill ; MS. Registers, Soc. of Frds. ; *Gent. Mag.* (1803) ; Munk, *Roll Roy. Coll. Phys.* ; Jos. Spence Hodgson, *The Rise of Penketh Preparative Meeting, Penketh School Magazine*, 1916-17 ; J. Jenkins, *op. cit.* p. 585.

settled at Dublin in the next year, and practised as a physician of reputation in that city for many years, dying unmarried in rooms at the east corner of Boot Lane and St. Mary's Lane, in 1775.

A man of studious habits throughout his whole life, ardent and indefatigable, he wrote much, and his books were solid contributions to knowledge. Fothergill, who corresponded with him, aided him in his literary works. He took especial interest in hydrology, compiling a *History of the Mineral Waters of Ireland*, published in 1757, which displays a mastery of his subject. He enumerates about 125 springs in the country, and of most of these he had made analyses, so far as chemical science then allowed, giving tables of the reactions obtained, and comparing them with some English and foreign waters. Rutty classes the waters as chalybeate, sulphureous, purging, vitriolic, tepid, petrifying and alkaline. He goes on to point out the uses of the several kinds in different diseases, and pleads for the employment of the Irish springs in many cases which resorted to the more fashionable Spas elsewhere. This work was followed by a larger one giving a methodical synopsis of all mineral waters known throughout the world. Rutty also communicated several papers to the Royal Society on waters containing copper, sulphur, vitriol, etc. He wrote, too, a *Chronological History of the Weather, Seasons, and Diseases in Dublin* for forty years (1770), and a *Natural History of the County of Dublin* (1772), in which his fondness for natural science is revealed. Lastly, he published in the year of his death an encyclopædic work, which is still referred to, embodying the researches of many years—*Materia Medica, Antiqua et Nova*.

Rutty was a Friend by strong conviction, and his *History of the Rise and Progress of the Quakers in Ireland* (to 1751) is of standard value. Serving as an elder ("a whetstone" to the ministers, so he said), he often paid family visits and spoke in counsel, and he was concerned for the youth and the children, to whose interests he gave up much time amidst his scholarly avocations. Late in

life his convictions deepened under the influence of silent meetings, introspection and mystical literature, and he began to keep at the age of fifty-four years a spiritual diary, which was continued for over twenty years, and was published by his direction after his death. This diary, which was much read amongst Friends a century ago, revealed the writer in his inmost thoughts. Its style is brief, pungent, often epigrammatic; severe on his own failings, even when these were invisible to his friends: the quaintness of its language provokes a frequent smile—"Oh, thou inflammable jack-straw!" he addresses himself. The tone of mind can hardly be accounted quite healthy: he was a Quaker ascetic; his path was shadowed: "this is a life," he writes, "of darkness, ignorance and imperfection"; Lucifer is "at my right hand." But the book must be read alongside of the testimony of his many friends, who found the busy physician and student a man of mild and guarded temper, full of grace and good works. Dr. Rutty was an early riser and lived simply; he was very kind to the poor, and records the prayer: "Lord, make them more glorious in my view."¹

DR. WILLIAM HUNTER

William Hunter, the distinguished anatomist and physician, was nearly contemporary with Fothergill. Both sprung from the north country and became leaders in the medical world in London. Kept out of the fellow-

¹ His niece, Catherine Rutty, married in 1753 Thomas Fowler of Melksham, and became the ancestress of a family some of whose members have been distinguished in various lines of service: John Fowler, the inventor of the steam-plough; Sir R. N. Fowler, Bt., P.C.; Wm. Fowler, M.P., and others. See *A Short Account of the Fowler Family*, privately printed. The *Dict. Nat. Biog.* contains a good notice of Rutty by Dr. Norman Moore; see also *Foth., Works*, iii. p. c; *Phil. Trans.* xli. 63, xlix. 648, li. 275, 470; MS. Letters of Dr. J. Rutty at Fds. Ref. Lib.; Rutty, *A Spiritual Diary and Soliloquies* (1776), reprinted in various editions down to 1840; it was the subject of a scornful article in the *Critical Review*, 1777. Boswell, *Johnson* (ed. 1887), iii. 170. Wesley records in his *Journal* a visit to the venerable man in 1775, finding him "full of faith and love and patiently waiting till his change should come." See also M. Leadbetter, *Biog. Notices of Memb. Soc. Fds.* p. 261; J. Jenkins, *op. cit.* p. 93 (2nd).

ship of the College of Physicians by their Scottish degrees, Hunter and Fothergill were associated in the "revolt" of the licentiates, as they were also in the early Medical Societies of London. The friendship of the two bachelor physicians is attested by a couple of letters from Fothergill to Hunter which have been preserved. In character, however, they differed much; for Hunter combined liberal tastes, much cultivation and upright convictions with a temperament jealous of his own rights and prone to take offence. But he did great work for the science of medicine in his century, laying exact foundations in anatomy and physiology and even in pathology. He was a consummate teacher, and, like his younger brother John Hunter, had much influence on the generation that followed him. Besides his famous brother and his nephew Dr. Matthew Baillie, Hewson, Cruikshank, Aikin and Cleghorn in the British islands, Shippen, Morgan and Logan in America, were among his many pupils.¹

DR. ANTHONY FOTHERGILL

Childless himself, Fothergill found something of the joy of parentage in gathering young men around him, and his own attitude of scrupulous self-discipline was no bar to the freedom of his intercourse with them. They enjoyed, some of them, his frequent company, and learned of him the high ideals of the medical art, the nobility of the true healer of men, and the scientific spirit which interprets nature without prejudice. They learned, too, that love, as they saw it in the smile of Fothergill, could be the law of life. Lettsom was often at Fothergill's table. Amongst others who met at the same hospitable board were Anthony Fothergill, Percival and Falconer.

Anthony Fothergill belonged to the Westmoreland branch of the family, and was twenty years junior to

¹ Dr. W. Hunter (born 1718, died 1783), Physician to the Queen, F.R.S., was the author of the *Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus* (1774), and of other works. See his life by S. F. Simmons, 1783; and *W. Hunter, Anatomist, Physician, Obstetrician* (1901), by the present writer, in which work the two letters from Fothergill are printed.

John Fothergill, having been born at Sedbergh in 1733. After study at Sedbergh School and Edinburgh, and then at Leyden and Paris, he graduated M.D. at the Scottish capital in 1763 with a thesis on intermittent fever. His elder namesake opened his house in London to him, and proved both then and afterwards his friend and adviser. By his counsel Anthony Fothergill settled at Northampton as a physician in the year 1764. In the unexpected difficulties which he met with in that town John Fothergill wrote to encourage him: "Depend more on propriety of conduct than on any recommendations, though these ought not to be neglected. Have patience, be firm. There is a secret superintending Providence that directs everything for the best. All that we have to do is to act uprightly and to the best of our skill in everything that offers. Difficulties are of use to the prudent."

The prospects at Northampton improved; Anthony Fothergill became physician to the hospital there, and besides his active medical work pursued scientific researches, which were recognised by the fellowship of the Royal Society in 1778. He often consulted John Fothergill about his cases, and received many medical letters from him. Upon the death of the latter in 1780, Anthony Fothergill essayed to follow him in his house at Harpur Street, but this not answering his wishes he went to Bath, where he acquired much repute and a large income.

An active member of the Medical Society which Lettsom had founded, he contributed papers to it upon influenza, consumption, the treatment of epilepsy, enlarged prostate and *gummi rubrum*. But his chief work, which he pursued through many years, was the investigation of the causes of sudden death and the means of restoring animation, especially in cases of drowning. An essay on this subject was awarded in 1794 the gold medal of the Royal Humane Society, of which body he was an early member.¹

¹ *A New Inquiry into the Suspension of Vital Action in Cases of Drowning and Suffocation*. Three editions were published. He also wrote on lead poisoning, on the abuse of spirituous liquors, and on the Cheltenham waters.

Dr. A. Fothergill retired from practice in 1803 with an ample fortune, and spent some years in Philadelphia, where he continued to make medical observations. Having returned to England, he died at Christchurch, Surrey, in 1813. By his will he requested his friend Lettsom to publish his selected essays, leaving him £1000 for the purpose, but Lettsom's own course was nearly over and the task was never fulfilled. He bequeathed £500 to the Medical Society to establish a Fothergillian Medal. He left also large sums to charitable institutions, and directed that an epitaph should be placed upon his tomb, making a solemn appeal to the passer-by to remember whither he is hastening.¹

DR. THOMAS PERCIVAL

Dr. Thomas Percival came of a medical family, and was born in 1740 at Warrington, a town with which Fothergill had some connections. Trained at Edinburgh under Cullen and afterwards in London, he took his degree at Leyden, and his wide scholarship and his ingenuity in physical science early obtained for him an introduction to the Royal Society. Percival settled at Manchester, where he had a large practice, and he became one of the most eminent of the physicians to the infirmary. He was an acute medical observer, substituting cautious induction for the speculation hitherto so much in vogue. He wrote on the use of cod liver oil in chronic rheumatism ; of this he gave large doses, with peppermint and carbonate of potash ; and he made experiments with the rectal injection of different gases in putrid fever and other disorders, being convinced of the necessity of correcting putrescence in the *primæ viæ*. Two volumes of *Essays Medical and Experimental* bear witness to the freshness and accuracy of his thought. A trained mathematician

¹ On Dr. A. Fothergill, see Munk, *Roll* ; Foth., *Works*, iii. 159-176 ; Nichols, *Lit. Anecd.* ix. 211 ; *Mem. Lettsom*, ii., iii. 270 ; also his *Hints*, ii. 297-311 (silhouette portrait) ; *Phil. Trans.* lxi. 1, a case of St. Vitus' Dance cured by means of shocks from a Leyden Jar ; lxvi. 587 ; *Roy. Soc. Letters and Papers*, Decade iv. 404, viii. 122.

himself, he made a successful effort to reform the bills of mortality and to enumerate the population in his own town. He worked also for the regulation of cotton mills and the institution of fever hospitals.

Percival wrote a famous treatise on *Medical Ethics*, which was the pioneer and basis of later codes of the sort ; the book was indeed a reflection of his own character and conduct, for he was a pattern of delicacy and rectitude ; governed by a high moral sense, polished and urbane, he was ready to attend to the feelings of the humblest who were around him. A sincere Unitarian, he never intruded his religious views ; a collection of *Moral Tales* from his pen was thought worthy of translation into French and German. In his earlier life he had known Voltaire and a circle of brilliant French writers at Paris, of whose Royal Medical Society he became a Foreign Associate. His own literary tastes were shown by his presidency for twenty years of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, which was set up by himself and others in 1781.

Delicate health, evidenced in part by a weakness of the eyes, forbade long life to Percival ; he died in 1804. His portrait shows a countenance marked by thought and refinement. The encomium of his kinsman, the eloquent Magee, afterwards archbishop of Dublin, may be quoted : " He was an author without vanity, a philosopher without pride, a scholar without pedantry, a student without seclusion, a moralist without moroseness, a patriot without faction, and a Christian without guile. The great object of his life was usefulness, and the grand spring of all his actions was religion." Percival's thoughtful estimate of Fothergill's character will be noted elsewhere.¹

¹ A good account of Percival with a portrait is given by Dr. E. M. Brockbank in his work, *The Honorary Medical Staff of the Manchester Infirmary* (1904). De Quincey, in his boyhood, knew Percival. See also Foth., *Works*, iii. pp. 1x, 142 ; *Med. Obs. & Inq.* v. 270-282 ; *Mem. Lettsom*, i., iii. 391 ; *Mem. Cullen*, i. 635. There are letters from Dr. Percival to Da Costa and to Lord Hardwicke among the Brit. Mus. MSS.

DR. WILLIAM FALCONER

Dr. William Falconer, afterwards well known as a scientific physician at Bath, was another young man to whom Fothergill gave his regard, and who, on his part, looked up to Fothergill with grateful affection. The elder physician encouraged and aided Falconer in his experimental work, which brought him early into the Royal Society. Falconer was the son of the Recorder of Chester, and born there in 1744. He studied at Edinburgh and at Leyden, and practised first in his native city, and then at Bath for many years, dying in 1824 at that place. He wielded a busy pen, and his numerous works dealt especially with the use of mineral waters and with epidemic diseases. A man of many attainments, he was conservative in temperament, and of a refined mind, in which the noble ideals of Fothergill had found a true response.¹

DR. JOHN AIKIN

Yet another of Fothergill's younger medical friends was Dr. John Aikin, an Edinburgh student and graduate of Leyden. Aikin was a man of much literary taste, a lover of freedom and of truth, a poet and a botanist.

He wrote much, especially on medical biography and materia medica; he edited various serials, and was the author, in conjunction with his sister Mrs. Barbauld, of the long popular volumes, *Evenings at Home*. He practised as a physician at Yarmouth, but being an outspoken dissenter was driven thence by church controversy, and came to London, where he found employment. But his main bent was literary, and this he pursued with unwearied diligence despite habitually weak health. He died from paralysis at Stoke Newington in 1822, aged seventy-five years. Fothergill became acquainted with

¹ See Munk, *Roll*; Foth., *Works*, iii. 149; *Mem. Lettsom*, i., Corresp. p. 176, iii. 176-184. Falconer, *On the Influence of the Passions*, Fothergillian Prize Essay, 1788.

him at Warrington, the seat at that time of a well-known academy, where Aikin's father was one of the lecturers. Priestley, Reinhold Forster the naturalist, Gilbert Wakefield the theologian and others contributed to give lustre to this institution, which aimed to give the advantages of a university education to Protestant dissenters. During its existence the press at Warrington issued a succession of important books. The academy was the precursor of Hackney College. Young John Aikin, already ardently pursuing the history of medical science, received much help from Fothergill, who offered him books and gave him useful advice; and he conceived an admiration for Fothergill's character and attainments which influenced his own career.¹ Aikin was John Howard's literary executor.

Other medical friends of Fothergill will be found mentioned elsewhere. Here need only be added the names of Dr. Pemberton of Warrington, who died in 1780; and James Vaughan of Leicester, M.D., Edin. (1762), the father of Sir Henry Halford.

¹ *Mem. John Aikin, M.D.* (1823), i. 24, 26, 154, 153; *Munk, Roll R.C.P.*; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* Aikin practised until 1798 in Broad Street Buildings, on the site of the present North London Railway Terminus. The old house in which Aikin dwelt and died at Stoke Newington still stands—now St. Mary's Day Nursery, No. 106 Church Street. Opposite to it, Nos. 113 and 115, is the house of Mrs. Barbauld.

CHAPTER XII

THE RISE OF MEDICAL SOCIETIES IN BRITAIN

There shall be for ever a Society called the Royal Society of London, . . . whose studies are to be employed for the promoting of the knowledge of natural things and useful arts by experiments ; to the glory of God, and the good of mankind.—*Extracts from the Charter of the Royal Society, 1662.*

L'expérience a montré que depuis l'origine des Académies, la vraie philosophie s'est généralement répandue. En donnant l'exemple de tout soumettre à l'examen d'une raison sévère, elles ont fait disparaître les préjugés qui trop longtemps avaient régné dans les sciences.—LAPLACE, 1796.

I. EARLY SCIENTIFIC SOCIETIES—THE MEDICAL SOCIETY (OF PHYSICIANS)

THE modern Medical Society is a product of Fothergill's century, and as he and his friends, especially Lettsom, had much to do with its origin, an attempt will be made in this chapter to show how that origin came about.

Scientific societies arose in Europe in the previous age. The revival of learning had indeed led to the setting up of numerous academies in the cities of Italy in the sixteenth century. Their objects were literary, but some of them were also occupied more or less with the investigation of physical science. Nearly all were short-lived ; but the *Accademia dei Lincei* in Rome, founded in 1603, and associated with Galileo, has maintained a somewhat broken existence to the present time. The *Sprachgesellschaften* of Weimar and other German towns were modelled on these academies. In England soon after this time men interested in science began to meet together, and some abortive attempts were made in the reign of King James I. to organise a Royal Academy. Bacon's portrayal in his *New Atlantis* of a society or college—"Solomon's House"

—to search out “the knowledge of causes and secret motions of things,” helped to stimulate the movement, but political unsettlement stood in the way. During the civil war, however, about 1645, a group of scientific men were wont to meet informally in London, and later in Oxford, and in 1660 they established themselves as the Royal Society. Drs. Wilkins and Wallis were among the earliest, and Petty, Boyle, and Evelyn among the most famous of the group. French men of letters held meetings in Paris from about 1629, and formed the French Academy about 1634, giving, however, their chief attention to literature. The *Académie Royale des Sciences* was founded in 1666; it was included in 1795 in the vast organism of the *Institut de France*.

These societies met a great need; the world was ready for them; they set up the frank interchange of knowledge by mutual converse, in place of the study of ponderous Latin tomes. The Royal Society, in particular, though it suffered fluctuations, came to take a wide grasp of the known sciences, and to pursue them in a catholic spirit; and, knowing how to honour itself by honouring others, it included in its own body the most distinguished scientific workers of all lands.

The example of England and France was soon followed by other countries. The Leopold Academy of Halle is indeed the direct offspring of a little company of doctors, who met at Schweinfurth as early as 1652. The Berlin *Akademie der Wissenschaften* dates from 1700, and that of Vienna from about ten years later. Sweden, forward in science, had her similar active societies at Upsala in 1710, at Stockholm in 1739, and at Gothenburg in 1778. Madrid followed suit in 1713, and the Imperial Academy of Science at St. Petersburg was opened in 1725. Bordeaux and Marseilles possessed such academies in 1712 and 1721. The genius of Franklin set up the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia in 1743, and the Academy of Arts and Sciences at Boston was formed in 1780. The Royal Society at Göttingen owed its origin to king George II. in 1751; and in the cities of the Netherlands, Haarlem, Rotterdam and Brussels, the men of science gathered themselves into academies in 1752, 1769 and 1772 respectively. In the same century philosophical societies or institutions, which had already appeared in Edinburgh and Dublin, were formed in several parts of England—as at Bristol, Bath, Peterborough, Spalding, Manchester and Newcastle.¹

¹ The *Acta Eruditorum*, consisting of scientific papers and reviews, and issued monthly from Leipsic in 1682 and onwards, owed its origin to the example set by the British and French societies. The *Ephemerides* of the

Medical science was at first included in the scope of these societies. In the Royal Society members of the medical profession have always been prominent, and have given to it some distinguished presidents; and very many medical papers were contributed to the society in former times. It is not easy to say when the need for separate associations for medical research was first felt. The *École de Chirurgie* was set up in Paris in 1731, and a Royal Academy of Medicine at Madrid in the following year, but it is probable that these were mainly colleges or teaching bodies.

The earliest British medical societies seem to have been small committees which collected papers on medical subjects for publication. Such was a society at Edinburgh, of which Monro *primus* was evidently the soul, and which began in the year 1731 to compile yearly volumes of *Medical Essays and Observations*, which were dedicated to its exemplar, the Royal Society. These contain reports on the weather, on epidemic diseases, and on recent medical literature, with numerous essays on physic, surgery and kindred topics. Fothergill's paper on the Neutral Salts of Plants, already referred to, was contributed to the fifth and last volume, issued about 1743.¹ By this time the society had been merged in a new and larger body formed "for the improvement of natural knowledge" in general, and afterwards known as the Philosophical Society (of Edinburgh); in 1783 it became the Royal Society of Edinburgh. A later Edinburgh Society of Physicians

Kaiser Leopold Academy were first published, at several German centres, in 1712. Similar *Acta*, collections of scientific papers, began to be issued from Nuremberg (1727), Basle (1751), Magdeburg (1755) and Giessen (1771). On the Royal Society, see the Histories by Sprat, 1667; and Weld, 1848; also *Record of Roy. Soc.*, 3rd ed., 1912. On other societies see *Minerva*, 1913-1914; A. Dechambre, *Sociétés Savantes*, in his *Dict. Encycl. des Sciences Méd.* sér. iii. vol. x. 97; Puschmann, *Ärztliche Vereine in Alter und Neuer Zeit*, in *Wiener Klinische Wochenschrift* (1893), vi. 790; Fotherby, *Medical Associations*, *Oration before the Hunterian Society*, 1869; *The Medical Register* (London, 1779 and 1783); Biese, *Literaturgeschichte*, i. 371; Hallam, *Literature of Europe*. On the Dublin Philosophical Society, 1683 to 1686, see Gilbert, *Hist. Dublin*, ii. 13, 173, and App. II.

¹ The *Medical Essays and Observations* were much esteemed, and went through five editions, the last being printed in 1771. Selections were published in a French translation at Paris, and in Latin at Hanover. Monro's contributions were very numerous; he was seconded by Plummer and other colleagues in Edinburgh, but more so by Drs. T. Simson and G. Martin of St. Andrews, by the surgeons, J. Jamieson of Kelso and J. Paisley of Glasgow, and by Dr. E. Barry of Cork. The work was written in English, but Latin was discarded with regret, since "to write good English cannot be expected from our country." There are singular records in some of the volumes. Thus there is a detailed account by a surgeon of a Cæsarean Section performed by one Mary Donally, an illiterate woman, in 1739, by means of a razor; she held the edges of the six-inch wound with her hand "till one went a mile and

published *Medical and Philosophical Commentaries*, in quarterly parts, commencing in 1773, and consisting of concise reviews of books, medical cases and news.¹ Neither in this case nor in the earlier is there any reason to think that papers were read or discussed before these societies, which were in fact committees for collecting papers in which one person usually did most of the work. Whilst the Edinburgh professors and others had thus organised themselves for the diffusion of medical knowledge, the students in the university took what proved to be a further step in the development of a medical society. It came about during the period of Fothergill's study in Edinburgh, and some of his intimate friends were the chief actors.

In August 1734 Russell obtained some important material for dissection, and invited his friends Cuming, Cleghorn, A. Taylor and two others to join him. These six students were accordingly occupied for nearly a month in dissections. They then met together for a social evening, when it was resolved, on the proposition of Taylor, that the six intimates should continue to meet once a fortnight early in the evening at their respective lodgings, and that a dissertation in English or Latin, on a medical subject chosen by the society, should then be read and defended by its author against criticism. Cuming read the first paper on *rabies canina* on December 20, Russell following on virulent gonorrhœa, and Cleghorn, with a paper on epilepsy. Next year most of these students left, but Cleghorn continued the society, with Fothergill, Cullen and

returned with silk" and tailors' needles, when she stitched it up hare-lip fashion, and dressed it with white of egg. The patient was able to walk a mile twenty-seven days later (vol. v. pt. i. 360, 4th ed.). On the continent of Europe the earliest purely medical collections to be issued seem to have been the *Historia Morborum et Observationes*, commenced at Warsaw in 1701, and the *Acta Medica Berolinensium* in 1717. These were, however, more personal in their range. A hint of an early attempt to meet for medical discourses, about 1650, is found in Glisson's work on Rickets (*privatis conventibus, quos aliquot medici exercitationis in artis operibus gratia, interdum habere solemus, mutuo invicem scriptis chartis communicavimus*). There was a small society of naval surgeons in London about 1745. Pettigrew, *Med. Port. Gall.*, W. Hunter, p. 2; G. Cleghorn, *Obs. on Minorca*, Dedication.

¹ Dr. Andrew Duncan was secretary to the society, and at time went on the work fell entirely into his hands. Volumes were issued at lengthening intervals until 1795, after which they were continued by the Duncans, senior and junior, under the title of *Annals of Medicine* to 1804. A review of Fothergill's case of Hydrophobia is in the fourth volume of the *Commentaries*. The Physical Society, 1771, and several others, bear witness to the energy of medical workers in Edinburgh at this period. In the library of the Medical Society of London is a MS. volume containing nineteen papers, apparently read before the Chirurgo-Physical Society in Edinburgh in 1778. In 1789 a Medico-Chirurgical Society was set up at Aberdeen.

others who joined it after its first origin. The society thus formed as a small coterie of friends was afterwards enlarged and organised, and well maintained by a succession of intelligent students. It acquired in course of time a library, and in 1775 had become so large and important that a hall was built for its accommodation. The money for this purpose was raised by subscription. The Duke of Buccleuch and Fothergill, who ever loved his alma mater, gave £100 each, and others contributed smaller sums. In 1778 the society came under royal patronage, and it still flourishes as the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh.¹

About the year 1752, when Fothergill had been twelve years in practice in London, he and some other physicians, who had the care of hospitals or were otherwise of repute in the profession, agreed to meet together from time to time, in order to discuss the prevalent diseases and their methods of cure, to relate cases of interest, and to canvass new discoveries. Dr. J. Clephane, the intimate friend of Hume, Drs. Silvester and Dickson of the London Hospital, Drs. G. Macaulay and S. Pye, were among the number, besides Dr. William Hunter, and afterwards Drs. Michael Morris, Brocklesby, W. Watson and Solander. The Medical Society at Edinburgh, which had issued the Medical Essays, was their example, and some of them had belonged to the students' society at that university. After some time the society began to publish, at Fothergill's instance and expense, a selection of the papers which had been read before it. Six volumes of *Medical Observations and Inquiries*, well printed and bound, were issued between 1757 and 1784. They formed a valuable body of clinical medicine, and had a high reputation in their day, several editions being called for. Some of the essays are still referred to. Those of Fothergill, who wrote or communicated more than fifty papers, that is, one-quarter of the whole, have been

¹ Letter from Cuming to Lettsom, 1782, in *Mem. Lettsom*, iii. 288; Foth., *Works*, ii. 367. See also Dr. Garland's eloquent panegyric (1763), showing the admirable spirit in which the society was carried on: "Is certe locus est, ubi audita a doctoribus, e libris petita, undecunque accepta ad medicinam pertinens disciplina, in medium prolata, ac ultro, citroque in contrarias partes disputando agitata, altius in omnium animos influit: ubi juventutis studia gloria incenduntur, exercitatione acuntur, animique ad multiplicis ac spinosæ scientiæ quærendæ laborem perferendum, propositis ex suorum numero exemplis pulcherrimis, perpelluntur, postremo, ubi omnes inter se mutuæ amicitiae firmissimum necit vinculum. Floruit triginta prope annos his juvenilis circulus, et ut æternum floreat precor!" *Idem*, p. 368, note; *Med. and Philos. Commentaries* (Edin.), iii. 446; *Hist. of Roy. Med. Soc. Edin.*; J. Thomson, *Life of Cullen*, i. 9, 11. A MS. book containing the discourses of the Society in 1735 was in 1788 in Cullen's possession.

already described. Dr. W. Hunter's papers on Aneurysms, on Emphysema and Disorders of the Cellular Tissues, on Retroversion of the Uterus, and on the Signs of Infanticide are well known. Amongst others may be mentioned the essay on Diabetes by Dr. Matthew Dobson, another of the friends of Fothergill. So good an example was not lost. In 1767 the College of Physicians, at the initiative of Heberden, who was seconded by Baker, Akenside, Warren and others, began to read papers, which they issued in the form of "Medical Transactions" on a similar plan.

Fothergill had much satisfaction in his connection with the *Medical Observations and Inquiries*. "As I was the first who planned this work," he writes to Dr. Anthony Fothergill in 1770, "and supported the first secretary at my own expense, I may now claim more merit than I ever expected, not only in having been the occasion of presenting the world with a number of very useful observations in our collection, but in having proved the instrument of exciting the college to an honourable emulation." Of the society itself he writes: "I know not a place in the world where medicine is practised with a more masculine freedom and simplicity, and where we are at more liberty to follow nature, without the fetters of fashion or of ancient prejudice."

This society adopted no distinctive name, but was simply called the Medical Society, with the words sometimes added "in London"; less often it was styled a Society of Physicians. It will here be referred to as the "Medical Society (of Physicians)." The meetings were held on alternate Monday evenings at the Mitre Tavern in Fleet Street. The society was small and select; the number of members was probably never more than a handful; in 1783 it seems to have fallen to seven. Fothergill was president at the time of his death. Dr. Gilbert Thompson acted as secretary, and his *Memoirs of Fothergill* were drawn up at the desire of the society in 1782, Dr. W. Hunter being then president. After Fothergill and Hunter and Solander had passed away, the society seems to have dropped out of being.¹

¹ Dr. C. H. F. Routh (*Oration before Med. Soc. Lond.*, 1859) states that there is a copy of the laws of this society, with a list of fellows, in the British Museum. J. B. Bailey, in *Medical Institutions of London*, 1895, copies the statement. No such copy can be found on search. Routh probably confused this society with another. On Matthew Dobson, M.D. Edin. (1756), F.R.S., of Liverpool, later of Bath, see Foth., *Works*, iii. 152-158; *Med. Register* (1779), p. 96; *Med. Obs. & Inq.* v. 298. For Fothergill's remarks on the Medical Society, see his *Works*, iii. 164, 181. On the society, see also *Med. Register* (1779), p. 4, (1783), p. 38.

II. THE SOCIETY OF (LICENTIAE) PHYSICIANS—REVOLT OF THE LICENTIATES OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS

The example of the small society last noticed early led to the formation of others on a like plan. By the year 1767 there were several such in existence. The Society of (Licentiate) Physicians arose in the last-named year, and to explain its origin we must trace the history of a controversy that has never been fully recorded. The Royal College of Physicians of London, founded in the reign of Henry VIII., has always been a body of much learning and dignity. In the eighteenth century it had become a close and rather contentious corporation. Like every other institution in those days it fell under the lash of the satirist, who saw a gilded pill crowning its dome in Warwick Lane, and the god of sloth enthroned within its halls :

Mean faction reigns where knowledge should preside,
Feuds are increased, and learning laid aside.¹

The college was originally constituted of all men of the faculty of physic then practising in London ; these became fellows of the new college. Licences to practise were at a later date given to others, but the charter and bye-laws vested the government entirely in the fellows. The latter were recruited almost wholly from the graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, members of the Church of England in conformity with the Test Act. In the course of the eighteenth century many Englishmen obtained medical training elsewhere, especially in the new medical schools which arose north of the Tweed, where there were no religious tests. The body of licentiates practising in London became larger ; they were mostly graduates of Scottish and foreign universities, especially of Leyden, and scarcely any of them were elected to the fellowship of the college.

In 1746, two years after Fothergill's admission as a licentiate, the fellows numbered fifty-six, and the licentiates twenty-four. The latter continued to increase, and came to include some of the most distinguished physicians in the capital, who yet had no share in the government of the college. They were restive under this deprivation ; they thought that such a share was their right ; and some of them could not

¹ Garth, *The Dispensary*, Canto I.

easily brook the exclusion of men of ability and eminence, merely because they had studied at Scottish or continental universities. The college, on the other hand, maintained the old status of the physician, as in the first place a classical scholar, well read in the lore of the ancients; and the two elder universities, *Athenæ nostræ nobilissimæ*, which required the taking of a degree in arts before one in medicine was conferred, assured, at much cost to the pupil, this training. It was considered a great indulgence to dissenters to allow them to receive the licence. At the Scottish universities a degree, given on a thesis, the authorship of which was not always free from doubt, was sometimes obtained by ill-trained and ill-qualified persons. It could be had at some of them even *in absentia* for a payment of £20, and at Rheims and some other foreign schools the price for a degree by examination was as low as four guineas. But the College of Physicians could, and did, weed out such persons by its own strict examinations, which included reading the Latin, and later the Greek, medical writers in the original before the censors. There seemed, therefore, to be no excuse for the exclusion from the inner circle of the college of such licentiates as had proved themselves by their scholarly attainments and high training to be *homines docti et graves*. Many of them came from medical schools much more active and advancing than those in England. Especially was this the case at Edinburgh, for this school was attaining a high repute throughout Europe for the excellence of its teaching. The controversy was in reality a part of the transition which was going on from the ideals of the past in medicine to a broader, more liberal and less traditional view. The college was long a stronghold of the old régime, and to this day its institutions have more than a flavour of the dignified past. Reform of the college from within had been essayed in 1702, and again in 1750, when the admission of properly qualified foreign graduates on some terms to the fellowship was agreed to at two *comitia*, only to be rejected by a third. The restrictions were reaffirmed two years later, and the monopoly of the fellowship secured to Oxford and Cambridge men, "who hold dominion," so their opponents cried—

by a sham,

Grave sons of Isis, and grave sons of Cam.

One of the licentiates now sued the college for the return of the fees paid for his licence, and the college thought it well to refund them. After this the licentiates, who had risen to

forty-two in number, stirred themselves to obtain redress of their grievances in an amicable manner, agreeably to the college statutes, which enjoin *fraternus amor* among physicians, *cum suavi animorum et voluntatum consensu*. They deputed the following six graduates of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Rheims and Leyden to confer with the fellows: Dr. Samuel Pye, Dr. E. Hody, F.R.S., and Dr. David Ross, physicians to St. George's Hospital; Dr. J. Andree and Dr., afterwards Sir J. B. Silvester, physicians to the London Hospital, of which Andree was the principal founder; and Fothergill. The statement of grievances, presented November 3, 1752, complained that the licentiates (though summoned to the *comitia majora* in due form *cum pileo et togâ*), were not permitted to be present whilst the business of the college was transacting; that they were excluded from all offices in the college; and that a large fine (£41 to £55) had been exacted from them for the licence, and an annual tax (£2 : 4s.), secured by a bond, although they were not allowed to enjoy the rights of the corporation as members. They received a short written answer that the college proceedings were in accordance with its charter, statutes and ancient usage.

The controversy, although it now slumbered for a time, was long and bitter, especially as the licentiate physicians continued to increase in numbers and influence, and had no mind as they said to the stigma of *minus docti* set on their foreheads. The Edinburgh medical faculty purged itself of any former laxity, and gave no degrees without both residence and examination. It is said that Dr. Pulteney, in 1764, was the last person to graduate there by examination only, and that the students publicly opposed it on the occasion. Glasgow also created no graduates *in absentia*; only Aberdeen and St. Andrews continued the "traffic" in degrees. In 1765 the London college ceased to invite the licentiates to the *comitia*. In the same year the college statutes were printed, and the restrictive edict of 1752 confining the fellowship to Oxford and Cambridge men was thus published to the world. Not long after it was reported that a proposal was before the college to lower the standard of admission to the licence by no longer requiring three examinations in Latin. The licentiates were indignant, for they saw that this would lower their own status as physicians, by the introduction amongst them of practitioners of little or no education. There was ground for believing that this was done by design. The college was often involved in lawsuits, and about this time an action was brought against it by a certain Dr. Letch, a man-midwife, for

admission as a member. The suit failed, but Lord Chief Justice Mansfield took occasion to caution the college against pursuing a narrow policy, which might even, so he said, exclude a Boerhaave.

The licentiates were now roused to action; they met to confer, and addressed the following letter to Sir Fletcher Norton, an eminent barrister, afterwards Lord Grantley, who had been counsel for Dr. Letch.

SIR—There seems no longer to be any doubt, but that the physicians admitted to practise under the common seal of the College of Physicians in London, are members of the college and entitled to every privilege granted thereto by the legislature. It therefore becomes our duty to embrace the present opportunity to recover those privileges of which we think ourselves unjustly deprived.

That this may be effected in the most amicable manner, we entreat you will be pleased to apply to Mr. Yorke, the standing counsel of the college, to order to obtain by your joint endeavours, the justice we expect, with all possible expedition. But, should the college refuse to enter into such a negotiation, or proceed in it in a way that shows a disposition to create unnecessary delays; we then, Sir, request that you will give us your advice in what manner we can best proceed to obtain justice by law, and hope from your attachment to so just a cause, that you will be pleased to prosecute it with all the dispatch in your power. We are, Sir, Your most obedient humble servants,

JOHN FOTHERGILL.	WIL. DUNCAN.
CHARLES MORTON.	ALEXR. RUSSELL.
J. SILVESTER.	MICHAEL MORRIS.
W. WATSON.	THOS. DICKSON.
WILLIAM HUNTER.	RD. HUCK.

At the Crown and Anchor in the Strand, May 15, 1767.

The licentiate physicians who were concerned in this and the subsequent proceedings numbered in all twenty-nine. More than one-half of them had a Scottish degree, although some of these were English by birth; others held the degrees of Leyden, Rheims, etc. Fothergill had been the first graduate of Edinburgh to receive the college licence. Of the famous Dr. William Hunter, M.D., of Glasgow and physician to the queen, it is needless to speak. Dr., afterwards Sir William Watson, was hardly less renowned as a man of science. Silvester, with the scholarly Dickson, and Benjamin Alexander, were physicians to the London Hospital. Sir William Duncan, Bart., was later physician to the king. The learned and upright Morton, afterwards Principal Librarian to the British

Museum ; Huck (Saunders), a practitioner of high distinction ; Kennedy, afterwards Director-General of Army Hospitals ; and Hugh Smith, were all physicians to the Middlesex Hospital ; Smith gave the first clinical lectures in that school. Morris and Brickenden served the Westminster Hospital. George Fordyce, one of the best-known physicians of his day, was at St. Thomas's Hospital, as was Fothergill's friend Russell, whose generous indignation had no small part in the controversy. The accomplished Maty was of high repute ; Garthshore was a famous obstetrician ; John Elliot was afterwards a baronet and physician to the Prince of Wales. Archer, a keen inoculator, was a man of learning and humanity ; whilst James Parsons lent the countenance of a senior of scientific fame and assured station.¹ One-half of the entire number were, or became, Fellows of the Royal Society ; Morton was at the time secretary to that learned body, and Watson, Maty and Parsons held office among its leading members. Such were the men who in 1767 resolved to claim the rights which they conceived to be theirs as members of the College of Physicians. Fellows and licentiates were in their view alike members of the commonalty of the college.

On June 25 ten of the licentiates repaired to the college and took their seats unasked at the *comitia majora*, which were presently dissolved by the president, Sir William Browne. On a later occasion, September 24, twenty licentiates, finding the college gates shut against them, broke them open with the aid of a locksmith, and forced an entrance into the chamber where the *comitia* were being held. Six days later they came again, and being denied admittance presented a joint letter, claiming the right of voting in the election of officers. It is hardly thinkable in these days that eminent London physicians should gather together *vi et armis* to break open the college gates. The president was much disturbed and resigned his office, not choosing, he said, to stay to be beaten by the licentiates. " With inhuman violence," so he quaintly told the college, they " broke into this very senate, like swimming sea-monsters in our medical ocean." These *permissi rebelles*, so he went on, had taken degrees, not from our two universities, the lights of knowledge to the kingdom and to the whole world, but from naked, poverty-stricken, mercenary universities (*nudis pauperibusque meretriculis academiis*) which

¹ See Maty's account of Parsons' sentiments, in Nichols, *Lit. Anecd.* v. 482 note.

were ready to sell their honours at a paltry price to any man.¹

In these disorderly proceedings Fothergill and Huck took no part. The matter was now to be put to a legal test, the opinions of Sir F. Norton and other counsel giving the licentiates reason to think that on application to the Court of King's Bench they would be declared fellows of the college. With the exception of a few who did not see their way to enter on the lawsuit, the licentiates subscribed liberally to carry it forward; none offered less than £50, some gave £100, and Hunter and Fothergill £500 each. Having ascertained the names of the new censors of the college, the licentiates brought a suit against them for acting as such when illegally elected. The judges held the election valid, but Lord Mansfield and Mr. Justice Aston both expressed the opinion that duly qualified licentiates ought to be admitted as members of the community of the college, the former advising the college to review its statutes and attend to the design of its institution. Encouraged by these opinions, twenty-four licentiates sent identical letters to the college on June 25, 1768, as follows: "GENTLEMEN—Apprehending myself entitled by law to be a member of the college or commonalty of the faculty of physic in London, I do hereby request that you will admit me into the commonalty and fellowship of the said college, and am now ready to wait upon you for that purpose. I am with due respect, Gentlemen, your most obedient servant." They received a brief reply declining to admit them, as not entitled to be members.

Fothergill and Archer now undertook to try to compel the

¹ Sir W. Browne, whose small figure, wig, spy-glass and muff marked him as a singular and pedantic physician, was at this time seventy-five years old. The battle with the doughty Scots led him, it seems, to apostrophise himself, from his favourite Horace—whose poems, *comes vie vitæque dulcis et utilis*, were by his will buried with him:

"Integer vitæ, scelerisque purus
Non *timet Scoti obloquium* neque *iram*,
Nec venenatis gravidam sagittis
FUSCÆ, pharetram.

Pone *te Scotis* ubi nulla campis
Arbor æstivâ recreatur aurâ:
Dulce ridentem *comites te habebunt*
Dulce loquentem."

See his *Oratiuncula Coll. Med. Lond.*, 1767, in which he rails at the licentiates: they were wasps, they were the tail of the college—no term of derision was too bad for them. The licentiates do not seem to have vied with the college president in dignity of language.

college by law to admit them, as a test case. A writ was served in November, and the cause came on for hearing in the following year, 1769, but failed for want of stating sufficient grounds. A similar action was therefore brought in 1770, the grounds of the title being shown at great length. The college in return upheld its rules, describing the class of licentiates as unfit to be fellows, and severely characterising their demand for admission. The judges agreed in quashing the motion, on the ground that the matter was governed by the college bye-laws, be they good or bad; Lord Mansfield added that they appeared to be narrow if not illegal, and hinted that they ought to be mended.

With the issue of these costly proceedings, the controversy was closed for the time. The college accepted the verdicts, but not the advice. Privilege died hard in the eighteenth century. The college did indeed frame a new statute by which a licentiate of seven years' standing might be proposed, and after three further examinations balloted for as a fellow. But this was little more than a dead letter. One curious scene is preserved for us in a contemporary epistle. In September 1771, ere the heat of litigation was cooled, three licentiates, Scotch graduates who were not of the "rebels," were elected to the fellowship at the *comitia* of the college. Old Sir William Browne then arose and handsomely proposed Fothergill, arch-rebel though he was, for election. When those present had recovered from their surprise, the nomination was seconded by Heberden and Sir J. Pringle, but was lost upon the ballot, so we are told, by 13 votes to 9. Browne wrote a polite letter to Fothergill afterwards.¹ The Edinburgh graduates had been indignant at Browne's allusion to their ancient foundation amongst others as being no university. That body received, however, some discredit from the unlucky admission of the illiterate Leeds in 1766, as already narrated; he was rejected by the London college for its licence in 1770. Cullen, when president of the Edinburgh College of Physicians in 1774, made considerable efforts, following the protests of W. Hunter and others twenty years earlier, to reform the lax practices still maintained at Aberdeen and St. Andrews. Their continuance gave some colourable excuse for the exclusive policy pursued in London towards all Scottish graduates.

A deep sense of injustice still smouldered in the licentiates' minds. A scheme was even mooted about 1782 to erect a new college of physicians on a large and liberal basis, with a

¹ J. Thomson, *Life of Cullen*, i. 658.

great library, which should become a centre of medical light in the world.¹ Probably financial support was lacking to its prosecution. By the year 1783 the two favoured English universities had come to supply an ever smaller proportion of the physicians of London. The fellows were now reduced to forty, and with only two exceptions they held English degrees; the licentiates were seventy-three in number. The college at length began to relax a little. Three of the "rebels," now advanced in years, were elected to the fellowship—Huck Saunders and the candid and learned Sir W. Watson in 1784, and Fordyce was added to the list in 1787. With these exceptions none of the twenty-nine ever became fellows of the college. The question was again raised at law by Dr. Stanger in 1796 and 1797, and was again decided in favour of the college, Lord Kenyon even upholding its exclusive bye-laws as just and reasonable. Many years had to pass before a more liberal spirit entered into the college, when it came to take a broader view of its trust on behalf of the medical interests of London, and grew in strength and in dignity by incorporating with itself as fellows all such physicians as worthily upheld the standard of their profession, at whatever university they were trained.²

To return to the licentiates in 1767. Having begun to meet together to defend their rights, they continued to meet once a fortnight at Old Slaughter's Coffee-house for medical conference, and formed a small society which was often called the Society of Physicians, and will here be described as the "Society of (Licentiate) Physicians." Its members dined together once a quarter at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand. It was before this society that an essay on the

¹ Unsigned MS. Letter to Lettson by one of the licentiates concerned in the recent lawsuit, possibly Archer. Library of Roy. Soc. Med., Tracts E129 (not contained in *Medical Communications*).

² Dr. E. Hody, *Attempt to reconcile Differences between the Fellows and Licentiates, etc.*, 1752; [Anon.] *Letter from a Physician . . . concerning the Disputes . . . between the Fellows and Licentiates*, 1753; *Remarks on a Pamphlet, intituled, Letter, etc.*, 1753; [Dr. S. Pye], *Enquiry into the Legal Constitution of the College of Physicians*, 1753; *The Law of Physicians, Surgeons, etc.* (Statutes), 1767; Foth. Works, ii. 355, 359, 377; *Medical Register*, London, 1779, 1783; S. Ferris, M.D., *General View of the Establishment of Physic*, 1795; C. Stanger, M.D., *Justification of the Right of Physicians, etc.*, 1798; [Anon.] *Exposition of the State of the Medical Profession*, 1826; J. W. Willcock, *Laws of the Medical Profession*, 1830, pp. 31 ff., xxxix-lxxviii; *Mem. J. Aikin, M.D.* i. 174-178; Munk, Roll, ii. 95-105. The author has to acknowledge the courtesy of Dr. J. A. Ormerod, Registrar of the Royal College of Physicians, for supplying information as to the disorderly scenes at the *comitia* from the Annals of the College. The original letter to Sir F. Norton is in the *Correspondence of the Hon. C. Yorke*, Brit. Mus. MSS. Add. 35638, 91; it is in the handwriting of Dr. T. Dickson, with autograph signatures.

character of his friend Russell was read by Fothergill in 1769, whilst the dispute with the college was still going on. He became the president in 1774 on the death of Sir W. Duncan, and held the office during the remaining six years of his life. Fothergill wrote to a friend on October 17, 1776: "I read one [an oration] yesterday to a little society of physick on the right dignity of a physician, and it seemed not to be ill received. The licentiates have agreed to bring something every quarter. This was an introduction; the succeeding will relate to particular subjects of medicine."¹

III. THE MEDICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON

The active and inquiring spirit which marked medical circles in London at this period led to the birth of many societies, mostly small groups of personal friends. Some grew up in connection with medical schools, others had a wider range.² Few of these associations outlived the circum-

¹ This letter seems to refer to a revival of activity in the society. On Fothergill's death Dr. W. Hunter succeeded him as president, as he did also in the case of the Medical Society (of Physicians). Lettsom's Account of Fothergill was read at two meetings of this society in 1782. In the following year Hunter died, and his memoir by Dr. S. F. Simmons was read to the society, Sir W. Watson being then president, and Garthshore secretary: there were twenty-three members. The society probably dropped not very long afterwards. The following MS. receipt has been preserved: "15 Feb. 1771. Received of Dr. Fothergill Forty Guineas, as his 11th and 12th Subscription call for the Licentiated Physicians. William Hunter, Treasurer." See *Foth. Works*, ii. 359, 376, iii. 217; MS. Letter at Fds. Ref. Lib.; *Med. Reg.* 1779, 1783.

² Amongst them may be mentioned the following: The *Physico-Medical Society of London*, 1771; a copy of its Laws, printed 1774, is in the British Museum. A *Society of Physicians*, led by Dr. S. F. Simmons, issued from 1781 to 1790 the *London Medical Journal*, and later, in 1791, *Medical Facts and Observations*. The *Society for Promoting Medical Knowledge*, founded by the same physician in 1782; the MS. scheme of constitution is preserved at the Royal Society of Medicine; Dr. Gray and Mr. Ford were secretaries; volumes of *Medical Communications* were published in 1784 and 1790. The *Lyceum Medicum* (1785 to about 1805); the remaining members were elected in a batch to the *Westminster Medical Society* on its foundation in 1809. The small *Society for the Improvement of Medical and Chirurgical Knowledge*, which included John Hunter (his Sunday night meetings may also here be mentioned), issued *Transactions* between 1793 and 1812, and was finally dissolved in 1818. Some societies were attached to hospitals; such as the *Guy's Physical Society* (1771, lasting until 1852, and parent to the present *Pupils' Physical Society*); also a private medical association (Astley Cooper and others) which published *Medical Records and Researches* in 1798; a society at the *Middlesex Hospital*, 1774, which has continued with some intermission to this day; the *Medical Society* at Dr. Sheldon's Anatomical Theatre, Great Queen Street, 1779; and the *Medical and Philosophical Society* at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, 1795, which, after two years' cessation, was re-named the *Abernethian Society* in 1832, and still exists. Other small societies arose in different parts of the

stances of their origin ; they did their work for some years and then lapsed. But one general medical society dating from this epoch assumed a permanent form and has come down to our own day—the Medical Society of London, founded by Lettsom in 1773.

Dr. Lettsom was at this time twenty-eight years of age. His début on the medical stage in London under the wing of Fothergill had been highly successful ; his talents and his uncommon power of work promised him a high career, whilst an experience of life and travel large for his years, with great readiness of speech and of wit, had given him a wide circle of acquaintance. He had begun life as the scientific physician, and he was elected F.R.S. in this year.

Purposing to form a medical society, Lettsom determined that it should stand on a broader foundation than the small societies of which he was a member. It should be a society of medical practitioners of various ranks, who would, so he phrased it, frequently meet together to compare their observations and mutually communicate their thoughts, taking note of new discoveries at home and abroad. Selected medical papers should be published, rewards given for improvements in medicine, and a library established. He gathered around him a number of other young men, especially apothecaries, such as Charles Combe, the accomplished numismatist and friend of W. Hunter, William Atkinson, and Timothy Lane ; and of surgeons, William French, Joseph Shaw, George Vaux, and others. Dr. Gilbert Thompson and Joseph Hooper, a surgeon, were, like Lettsom, members of the Friends. Dr. Nathaniel Hulme seems to have been Lettsom's chief coadjutor. Hulme was twelve years his senior, a Yorkshireman with an Edinburgh degree, who had been in the navy. He practised long in Charterhouse Square, being the first physician to the General Dispensary, and on the staff of the City of London Lying-in Hospital. Hulme was an amiable and honourable man of learning and scientific taste ; he experimented on the emission of light by certain bodies, and was elected F.R.S. in 1794 ; and he was awarded a gold medal by the Medical Society of Paris for his work on sclerosis of the cellular tissue in the new-born. He died in 1807.¹

country, e.g. at Warrington in 1770 (*Mem. Cullen*, i. 635), Colchester (1774), Bristol, and Aberdeen (*Mem. Lettsom*, i. 99, 100, 118). A little group of men—Jenner, Parry of Bath, and others—met at Rodborough, Gloucestershire ; see C. H. Parry, *Syncope Anginosa*, 1799. There were medical societies in several centres on the United States sea-board before the eighteenth century closed.

¹ Clutterbuck in *Trans. Med. Soc. Lond.*; 1810, p. 228 ; E. Owen, *Idem*, xx. 309 ; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* ; Munk, *Roll* ; Lettsom, *Hints*, iii. 185, 190.

Ten persons met on May 19, 1773, to form the new society. Edward Ford, a young surgeon of good repute and much acceptance, was made secretary, Hulme librarian, and Lettsom treasurer; Dr. John Millar was the first president, being followed by Lettsom in 1775. The meetings were held at 7 P.M., generally once a fortnight, in Crane Court, Fleet Street, with a small attendance. By August 10 nearly sixty members had been enrolled, and a few of the younger men of reputation, such as Garthshore, W. Saunders, Earle, Wadd, Hewson, and Blizard, had given their countenance to the new venture. The number of fellows was afterwards limited to thirty physicians, thirty surgeons, and thirty apothecaries, having proper qualifications, and including no proprietor of a nostrum; and committees of five were appointed in October for each of the three sections. A catholicity, not found in the earlier societies, thus marked this institution from its outset; the credit of this must be given to Lettsom. A fee of three guineas was paid on admission, and one guinea annually. In the rules it was enacted that "no person shall speak more than thrice to the same question." A library was early formed, Lettsom and others presenting many books, and more were purchased. It came to be rich in early medical works, also in Greek and other manuscripts; some curious English herbals, etc., of the mediæval period, and many volumes of notes of lectures are preserved amongst its treasures.

Lettsom had no easy task in piloting his tender offspring through the years that followed. The attendance at the meetings often dropped to seven; sometimes, in 1780, only two or three were present. There were quarrels among the members, and the society seemed at times on the verge of extinction. Papers fell off; in 1776 each member was ordered by rule to produce one in rotation or to forfeit five shillings. But Lettsom never gave way; whoever deserted, he was faithful; when no paper was forthcoming, there always seemed to be one in his pocket; his purse aided the finances; he enriched the library, and he offered a gold medal to be awarded every two years for a dissertation. He presented in 1788 a good house in Bolt Court, Fleet Street, to the society for its habitation. In the end he overcame all obstacles, and saw the society firmly established. By the year 1789, when the first volume of *Transactions* was issued, the number of members, nominally at any rate, exceeded 250. How much the society still owed to its indefatigable founder may be judged from the fact, that almost one-half of the thirty-five articles in this volume were either written or communicated by him.

A well-known painting by Samuel Medley is preserved in the society's hall, representing Lettsom presenting the deeds of the house in Bolt Court to the society. It is a group of twenty-two fine portraits, executed many years after the event, and containing in fact some fellows who cannot have joined the society until much later. Sims, the president, behatted, occupies the chair, his ample and singular features expanded in a smile of satisfaction. Amongst those around him are the affable Hulme, Saunders—magisterial in aspect—and the modest and leaned Combe; these were original members, as was Ford, the faithful first secretary; he sits at the table, now old in years, but intent as ever. There are also Woodville, the Quaker inoculator and botanist, with the visage of a man of detail, and Aikin, the amiable brother of Mrs. Barbauld, his rich brown hair a foil to the wigs worn by others. Near to these are four members of the staff of Guy's Hospital—Relph, ample in form, the intelligent and kindly William Babington, beau ideal of a physician, Thornton the botanist, and Haighton with his mobile countenance, the lecturer on midwifery. Sir J. Macnamara Hayes, whose easy aspect seems to tell of prosperous days, occupies a seat in the foreground. Sayer Walker, treasurer to the society, with the sedate Hooper, afterwards famous for the "*Vade Mecum*," are also present, with Bradley, a studious Quaker who left mathematics for medicine, and was apparently a man of fine presence. The figure of Jenner, who had meanwhile come into great notice, is known to have been painted in as an afterthought; there is a look of far-away thought upon his honest face.¹

Fothergill was not connected with this society, but in May 1784 Lettsom read before it an account of the disease from which Fothergill died and its treatment, and in the same year he instituted the Fothergillian Gold Medal in honour of his friend and patron. The medal was of the value of ten guineas, and was to be given yearly to the author of the best dissertation on a set subject; it bore Fothergill's effigy and the legend: "*medicus egregius, amicis carus, omnium amicus.*"²

¹ Other members whose portraits are included are Drs. Joseph Hart Myers (with smiling Jewish visage), E. Bancroft and J. Shadwell, and Messrs. Ware and Blair. Notes on the fellows depicted, contributed by Mr. Bethell, will be found in Sir St. C. Thomson's *Address on Lettsom*. F. S. Medley (1769–1857) was a pupil of Reynolds; through his daughter he was grandfather to Sir Henry Thompson the surgeon. The picture was engraved by N. Branwhite in 1801.

² This medal seems to have been awarded six times: viz., in 1787 to Falconer, for an essay on "*The Influence of the Passions upon Disorders of*

Lettsom provided the funds for many years, and after this the medal was discontinued. But in 1813 a bequest was received from Dr. Anthony Fothergill for a similar purpose, and the present Fothergillian Medal of the society, awarded every three years, bears the effigy of the younger Fothergill.

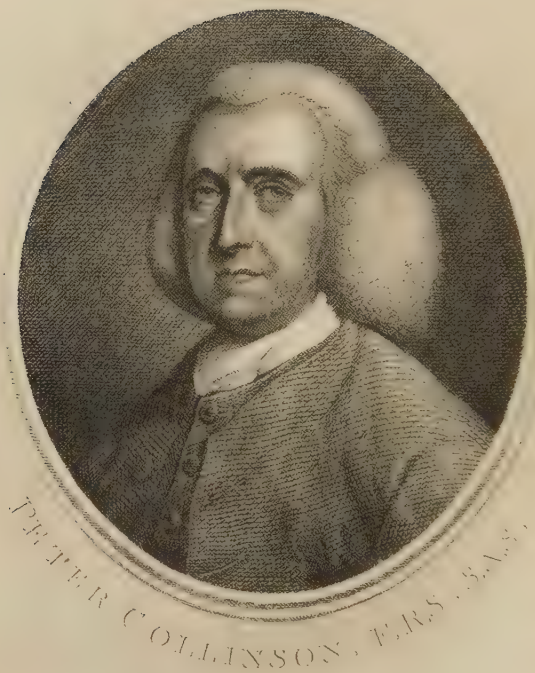
Its founder had the pleasure of watching the progress of the Medical Society for more than forty years. The laudable custom of a yearly change of president fell after a time into abeyance in favour of Dr. James Sims, who acquired a personal influence over the society and sat in the presidential chair for a period of twenty-three years. This led to dissensions, and had an injurious effect on the life and progress of the institution; a large secession took place in 1805, and the Medical and Chirurgical Society was formed. The seceders included four of the original members of the older body, Saunders, Garthshore, Blizard and Heaviside; the first-named, who had been prominent in Medley's picture, became president of the new society, and other members of Guy's Hospital Staff, especially Marcet and Astley Cooper, were, with Yelloly, its chief promoters and officers. This society afterwards obtained a royal charter, and it formed by amalgamation with other bodies in 1907 the present Royal Society of Medicine. There was indeed room for both societies. Lettsom, Clutterbuck, Hancock, and a few others of eminence remained in the older establishment, and the possession of the freehold house and of the library helped to save it from destruction. Sims at last retiring to end his days in Bath, Lettsom again took up the presidency and served the society in 1809-10 and 1813-14. The society has had other difficulties to surmount in its history and fluctuations to witness, but it was much strengthened by amalgamation with the Westminster Medical Society in 1850. The Lettsomian Lectures, a series now of three discourses read yearly by a practitioner of eminence, were commenced in the following year, and were named in honour of the founder of the society. They have often formed the vehicle of important contributions to British medicine. The present series of *Transactions* dates from 1872, and corresponds to a period of steady growth in activity and influence.

The Medical Society of London has maintained throughout its course a general outlook upon medical questions, endeavouring to view them from different sides, those of clinical experi-

the Body"; in 1790 to Willan; in 1791 to Lettsom; in 1795 to Mason Good; in 1801 to Bouttatz; and in 1803 to Jenner. See *Trans. Med. Soc.*; *Gent. Mag.*, 1795, i. 474; Lettsom, *Hints*, iii. 286.

ence, research and theory. For this purpose evidence is needed alike from the physician, the surgeon and the family medical man, whether in town or country. Such a comprehensive scope has provided a useful counterpoise to that undue specialisation which has resulted from the increase of knowledge. In the words of a former president, the late Edmund Owen, "the society's kindly and paternal spirit has come down as a precious heritage from Lettsom, and through him from Fothergill." The society is notable in medical history as probably the first to be constituted on what may be called a democratic basis, serving the scientific interests of the medical profession as a whole.¹

¹ The Medical Society of London has often been confounded with the two small societies previously described, none of them having at first a distinctive name. Hence few if any of the Medical Society Orators and other historians who have dealt with this period have escaped errors, which have been copied from one author to another, but which it would take too long to particularise. The tangle has had to be patiently unravelled with light from original sources. See *MS. Minutes of Med. Soc. Lond.*; Lettsom, *Hints*, iii. 257; *Mem. Lettsom*, i. 31, etc.; Pettigrew, *Med. Port. Gallery*, iv. mem. Pettigrew; G. Thompson, *Mem. Fothergill*, 1782; *Foth. Works*, ii. 1, 376, iii. 164, 181; *Med. Register*, 1779, 1783; W. B. Carpenter, *Centenary Oration*, *Roy. Med. Soc. Edin.*, 1837 (his mistaken inference is repeated by Dr. R. Peel Ritchie, *Early Days of the Royall Colledge of Physitians, Edin.*, 1899); J. F. Clarke, *Autobiog. Recoll. of Med. Profession*; Orations before the Med. Soc. Lond. by Dr. C. H. F. Routh, 1859; Dr. Symes Thompson, 1882; Edmund Owen (*Trans.* xx. 309), and others; and before the Hunterian Soc. by Dr. Fotherby, 1869, and Dr. G. Newton Pitt, 1896; [J. B. Bailey], *Med. Institutions of London*, 1895; *MS. Account of the Library of the Med. Soc. Lond.*, read before the Library Association, 1914, by the present Registrar of the Society, Mr. G. Bethell.



*Hinc, quæ Natura neque
 Visibus humanis Oculis ea Actoris Inveniet
 Cuius est, et quæque et vagis periret
 In medium Dissoluta, et Periret*

CHAPTER XIII

BOTANY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY :

PETER COLLINSON, JOHN BARTRAM

How ravishing to see the swelling buds disclose the tender leaves !—
PETER COLLINSON.

I believe a leaf of grass is no less than the joinery of the stars, and the running blackberry would adorn the parlours of heaven.—WALT WHITMAN.

The trees,
Midsummer-manifold, each one
Voluminous, a labyrinth of life.

W. E. HENLEY.

If seas and mountains can keep us asunder here, yet surely the Father of Wisdom and Science will take away that veil and these obstacles when this curtain of mortality drops ; and probably I may find myself on the skirts of a meadow, where Linnæus is explaining the wonders of a new world to legions of white candid spirits, glorifying their Maker for the amazing enlargement of their mental faculties.—
Dr. GARDEN, *Letter to Linnæus*, 1761.

THE science of botany was growing fast in the first half of the eighteenth century. Our English Ray amongst others had brought to bear upon the vegetable as well as upon the animal world his talents of close observation and methodical description. Herbariums of dried plants were often collected, and the products of other climes were brought home by sailors. The day of mere marvels was past ; when Gerard could portray in his admirable herbal the barnacle tree shedding its fruit of living birds into the waters, hence the name of “ barnacle geese ” ; or Josselyn relate that in America barley “ commonly degenerates into oats ” ; or the learned Grew tell of mineral salts derived from plants crystallising out into some

likeness of the plants from which they came.¹ The time was ripe for one who should survey afresh the whole range of vegetable life, define its forms, and rank them in an ordered system. Carl von Linné, or Linnæus, as he was known in Latin literature, achieved this great work, and though the system he built has met the common fate of systems, and has been superseded by the more natural methods of Jussieu and others, yet he laid foundations deep and firm upon which all later observers were glad to build. The only visit to England which was paid by the Swedish botanist occurred in the summer of 1736, before Fothergill settled in London. Amongst those whom Linnæus met in the metropolis, and with whom he entered into terms of friendship, was Peter Collinson, a man like unto himself in the interest he took in all things living and growing.

Peter Collinson was born in 1693,² in a house opposite Church Alley, St. Clement's Lane, London. He was a member of the Society of Friends throughout his life, and although he was intimate with men of rank and position he retained much of the Friendly simplicity of character. In partnership with his brother James, he carried on the business of a wholesale woollen draper or mercer, at the sign of the Red Lion in Gracechurch Street, and opened a large trade with the American colonies, from which he derived a considerable income.

Collinson was fond of natural history from his youth, a lover of flowers and of gardening, and of watching the metamorphoses of insects. These pursuits brought him to the notice of naturalists, especially of Sir Hans Sloane, whom he often visited, and whose large collections, which were the nucleus of the British Museum, were in part arranged by Collinson. He was, as we shall see, early elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and was also one

¹ Gerard, *Herball*, 1597, p. 1391; Josselyn, *New England's Rarities Discovered*, 1672; N. Grew, M.D., F.R.S., *Catalogue of Rarities belonging to the Royal Society*, 1681, p. 254.

² Jan. 28, 1693/4. His father was Peter Collinson of Gracechurch Street, haberdasher, and his grandfather, James Collinson of Penrith, who was son to Peter Collinson of Hugal Hall, Windermere. His mother was Elizabeth, daughter of Peter Hall of Southwark.

of the original Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries on its being incorporated in 1751; he read a paper before the latter society in 1763, on the Round Tower at Ardmore, with some account of others in Ireland, and a plate. His business made him acquainted with many persons in the American provinces, from New England to Carolina. He was intimate with Franklin, and corresponded with him, not only on scientific subjects, but on many others; using also his own influence with Thomas Penn, the proprietary of Pennsylvania, whose cordial friendship he enjoyed, to further Franklin's plans for advancing education and culture in that province. Collinson on his part sought the good offices of his colonial friends in sending him new and rare plants or seeds, but at first with little success. Mark Catesby had already shown how rich was the new continent in trees and shrubs, and after his return from his travels in 1726, he was aided by loans of money from Collinson to publish his monumental work, the *Natural History of Carolina*. At length Collinson heard of John Bartram, who undertook to supply what he wanted. Something must now be said of Bartram, who became one of the most eminent naturalists of America.

John Bartram was a Quaker farmer, born in 1699, and living near Philadelphia. A self-taught man, he was inclined to the study of physic; but musing upon the works of nature as he followed the plough his mind was seized with the thought of the wonders of vegetable life. He began to watch the flowers, to compare them, and to learn all he could about them. Soon after 1728 he laid out a botanic garden of five acres extent, afterwards called Kingsessing, where he cultivated many native and exotic plants. He travelled as often as he could in search of new trees and herbs, and made collections of the objects found. A mutual friend about the year 1733 sent some of these to Collinson, and this led to an intimate friendship between the two men, and the frequent interchange of letters—for they never met—during the space of thirty-five years. Many of the letters have been published, and they give us a picture of two keen inquiring

minds, both eager in the pursuit of natural objects, seizing with a boyish delight on every new tree or flower, looking for birds, fishes, turtles, butterflies, and reasoning on all things upon the earth and beneath it. Nor was it novelty and utility alone, but the beauty of these objects which roused their ardour, and stirred up in each of them a simple and childlike reverence for the Creator. A touch of affection united "dear Peter" and "my dear John," and if each could sometimes strike a querulous note, it was interspersed with humour and kindliness.

Bartram was a born naturalist ; his eye seemed never to miss a fresh object, and nothing escaped his memory. He was a hardy son of the soil, and spared himself no toil nor labour if he could discover some new plant. Collinson on his part was no less eager, and was constantly stirring up his friend to send him seeds, sods, roots, cuttings or pictures of all that he found. Thus encouraged, Bartram carried out at intervals an indefatigable search of the American backwoods. Sometimes he had to cross unbridged rivers, to pry among the rattlesnakes, or was obliged to follow the tracks of wild beasts through dense thickets. At others he traversed places most desolate and craggy, where no mortal had ever trod. A fall from a tree once left him helpless on the ground, a day's journey from the nearest settlement. To obtain the cones of rare pines at the proper season for his insatiable friend, he had, he tells him, "a grievous bad time"; climbing trees in the rain to lop the boughs, and then standing up to his knees in the snow to pluck off the cones.

He travelled through most of the provinces from Nova Scotia to Florida, and from the sea to the great lakes and the Ohio. Many times he went westward through Maryland and Virginia, searched the head-waters of the Rappahannock, and the course of James River, and the forests where grew the *arbor vitæ* and the glorious rhododendron. "The spacious vale of 600 miles in length," that runs south-west between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies, was his chief hunting-ground. Here

"Flora sported in solitary retirement, as Sylva doth on the Catskill mountains." He explored New River, and passed through the Carolinas to the Congaree. Again he roamed to the north through the rich scenery of New York province, going up the Hudson River to Albany, and climbing the Catskills, where he found the balm of Gilead fir and the paper birch. It was on his journey in 1743, with an interpreter, to the land of the Five Nations, the vale of Onandago, and the great Lake Frontenac (Ontario), that he found the large magnolia (*acuminata*) growing 100 feet high; Collinson received the seed from him, and writes twenty years later: "I am in high delight, my two mountain magnolias are pyramids of flowers." Another journey west was through the wilderness to Pittsburg, whence he travelled for six days down the Ohio River, lying at night in the woods upon the bank. He was in peril from the Indians; once he had his hat pulled off, and the Indian "chewed it all around, to show me," he writes, "how he would eat me if I came again." When these tribes joined the French against the colonists, Bartram's travels were hindered for some years. Collinson and he disagreed upon the topic of the red men. Bartram, his ears tingling with tales of massacre, said: We must *bang* them, drive them back. His friend defended them, showing how they had been defrauded and injured, and referred to two papers he had written in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1763 on a Plan for a Lasting Peace with the Indians. At length, when he was sixty-six years of age, Bartram was able to go south with his son William into Georgia, passing on into Florida to the (lately Spanish) town of St. Augustine, ascending the St. John's River to its source, and visiting the lakes. He attended a congress at Picolata between the governor and the Indians, but fever and jaundice troubled him on the journey.

Every year Bartram put on board of the ships that sailed from Philadelphia for England bales and boxes, sometimes over a score in number, containing his collections; and his English friend soon set up a system of

distribution for them which will presently be alluded to. Communication was slow and uncertain in those days: letters, carried by the same ships as the goods, took two or three months—sometimes more, seldom less—to cross the ocean. In one season ships lay in the English Channel becalmed for nearly two months; some, again, were captured by the French or Spaniards.¹ Postage was heavy and paid by the recipient, hence you often refrained from writing to spare your friend: Bartram complains that he was charged half-a-crown for a letter through New York. Collinson tells him to wrap his letters in dry tobacco leaves that they may escape insects on the passage. Woeful are the former's lamentations, time and again, when he finds nests of rats ensconced in a box of precious plants, which had afforded fine food for their offspring. A box of living plants in earth was to be stowed under the captain's bed, and thus kept out of the light and warm; this answered very well.

Collinson and his friends supplied Bartram with funds, about £21 per year, increasing afterwards to about £100, equivalent to nearly twice these sums in colonial currency, besides extra funds for his expeditions. Bartram drew bills against a running account with Collinson, but sometimes the latter sent him "a strong cask" full of half-pence, as was then the custom, £10 or £20 worth at a time. He sent out, too, many botanical and other books and gifts, including a pocket compass for his wanderings, "with a dial to it to know the hour of the day." Very acceptable were the presents of clothing: a suit for himself, "drugget coat, black waistcoat and shagg breeches" ("also Barclay's Apology to refresh thy inward man"), and a calico gown for his wife, garments which met their taste so precisely that Bartram humorously ascribed it to a mystic sympathy between them. His garden, too, was enriched with the best vegetable

¹ "If I could know that [the goods] fell into the hands of men of learning and curiosity I should be more easy. Though they are what is commonly called our enemies, yet, if they make proper use of what I have laboured for, let them enjoy it with the blessing of God." J. Bartram, 1745; W. Darlington, *Memorials of John Bartram and Humphry Marshall*, Phila., 1849, p. 353.

products from England, forwarded by Collinson and his friends, such as the cones of the cedar of Lebanon, Spanish and horse chestnuts, and a series of bulbs. Philip Miller once sent him sixty-nine sorts of seeds—plums, nectarines, apricots, etc. *Linaria*, *chrysanthemum*, *hypericum*, Scotch thistle, *geranium*, *polyanthus*, meadow-sweet—these and many more flowers from the old country bloomed in the garden on the banks of the Schuylkill; the four first mentioned took indeed rather too kindly to American soil.

Collinson came into touch in the course of years with several noblemen of liberal minds, interested in natural pursuits. Some of them were young and talented, such as Robert Lord Petre, the Earl of Jersey, and the Dukes of Richmond, Norfolk and Bedford. He showed them his North American plants, and induced them to take a share in importing them for the adornment of their own gardens. It was arranged with Bartram that he should send over every year boxes of seeds, each containing 105 sorts, at a fixed price of five guineas per box. The kinds included many varieties of the best forest trees and flowering shrubs. The list is as follows :

- Weymouth Pine or White Pine or Mast Pine.
- Hemlock Spruce Fir (**Abies canadensis* Michx.).
- Tulip Tree.
- White Ash.
- Swamp Pine (apparently *Pinus palustris* Mill., *australis* Michx.
See *Hortus Collinsonianus*).
- 2 & 3 Leaved Pine (? *P. Tæda* L. or *serotina* Michx., the
"Loblolly Pine," an object of much search to Bartram).
- Jersey Pine.
- Small Magnolia (*M. glauca* L.).
- Red Flowering Mapple.
- Striped Bark Mapple.
- Silver Leaved Mapple.
- Sugar Mapple (**Acer saccharinum* L.).
- Dwarf Mountain Mapple.
- Chinquapin (*Castanea pumila* Willd.).
- Sweet Chesnutt.
- Poplar Leaved Birch.
- Sarssefrass (*Laurus sassafras* L.).
- Beech Mast.

- Dog Wood (**Cornus stricta* Lam., *canadensis* Hort. Par.).
 Black Mulberry.
 Red Cedar (*Juniperus virginiana* L.).
 Lime Tree.
 Mountain Chesnut Leaved Oak.
 White Oak.
 Swamp White Oak.
 Champaign Oak.
 Spanish Oak.
 Black Champaign Oak.
 Barren Black Oak.
 Scrubby White Oak.
 Bastard Champaign Red Oak (? **Quercus Catesbæi* Michx.).
 Dwarf Scarlet Oak.
 Scarlet Leaved Oak.
 Willow Leaved Oak (*Q. Phellos* L.).
 Tusselo or Nissa or Bla: Gum (*Nyssa multiflora* Wang.).
 Black Spruce Firr.
 Great Mountain Magnolia (*M. grandiflora* L.).
 Judas Tree.
 Shagged Bark Hickory (*Carya alba* Nutt.).
 Balsamick Hickory (? **Carya porcina* Nutt.).
 Small Turgid Sweet Hickory (? **Carya microcarpa* Nutt.).
 Common Rough Hickory.
 Red Cedar Berries.
 Ceonothus or Red Root ("New Jersey Tea").
 Great Mountain Kalmia or Rhododendron (**Rhododendron maximum* L.).
 Olive Leaved Kalmia (**Kalmia latifolia* L., "Calico Bush").
 Thyme Leaved Kalmia (**Leiophyllum buxifolium* Ell., *Ammyrsine* Hort. Coll.).
 Candleberry Myrtle or Mirica.
 Evergreen Privet or Prinosa (**Osmanthus americana* Benth. & Hook., "American Olive," see Hort. Coll.).
 Pensilvania Elder (**Sambucus canadensis* L.).
 Great round leaved Viburnum.
 Red Berried Viburnum.
 Mountain Viburnum (? **Viburnum acerifolium* L.).
 Arbor Vitæ.
 Sweet Black Birch (**Betula nigra* L.).
 Benjamin or all Spice of Pensilvania (*Lindera benzoin* Meissn.).
 Clethra or Sweet Spirea (*Clethra alnifolia* L.).
 Stones of the Papaya Tree (**Asimina triloba* Dun., "Papaw").
 Lotus or Celtis with Yellow Fruit (probably *Celtis occidentalis* L., "Nettle-tree").
 Jersey Tree an Epigea (? **Epigæa repens* L., the trailing arbutus, or "May Flower" of New England).
 Fringe Tree (**Chionanthus virginica* L.).

XIII LIST OF AMERICAN SEEDS SENT OVER 165

- Beach or Sea Sumach with lentiscus Leaves (*Rhus copallina* L.).
 Horn Beam.
 Spiked Andromeda (**Leucothoë racemosa* A. Gray).
 Red Bud Andromeda (**Pieris mariana* Benth. & Hook.).
 Broad Leaved Andromeda.
 White Spirea.
 Prinos or Red Winter Berry (**Ilex verticillata* A. Gray).
 Hydrangea (*H. arborescens* L.).
 Black Larch (**Larix americana* Michx., var. *pendula*, "Tamarack").
 Silver Leaved Alder.
 Common Pensilvania Alder (**Alnus serrulata* Willd.).
 Padus or Cluster Cherry.
 Broad Leaved Euonymus.
 Blue Berried Cornus.
 Toxicodendron Triphyllon (*Rhus Toxicodendron* L., ? var. **radicans* Tor. & Gray, "Sumach").
 Toxicodendron or Poison Ash (*Rhus venenata* D.C.).
 Johnsonia (*Callicarpa americana* L. See Miller, *Gardener's Dictionary*).
 Ptelea arbor Trifolia.
 Broad Leaved Swamp Viburnum.
 Blackberried Cratægus.
 Redberried Cratægus.
 Dwarf Birch.
 Aralia Spinosa or Angelica Tree.
 Ash Leaved Mapple (*Negundo*, "Box Elder").
 Cephalanthus or Button Wood (**Cephalanthus occidentalis* L.).
 Large Beach Cherry (? **Prunus pensylvanica* L.).
 Hamamelis or Gold Fringe Tree (**Hamamelis virginiana* L.).
 Sweet Gum or Liquid Amber Tree.
 Red Sumach.
 Swamp Spanish Oak.
 Black Walnut.
 White Walnut ("Butter-nut").
 Honey Locust or 3-Thorn'd Acacia (*Gleditschia triacanthos* L.).
 Platanus Occidentalis.
 Euonymus Scandens (**Celastrus scandens* L., "Staff-tree").
 Narrow Leaved Thorn.
 Broad Leaved Thorn.
 Highland Roses.
 Swamp Roses.
 Lesser Kalmia (**Kalmia angustifolia* L.).
 Spiny Viburnum.
 Tough Viburnum.
 Red Spirea (**Spiræa lobata* Jacq., "Queen of the Prairies").

This is evidently Bartram's list and seems never to

have been printed ; it is here given *literatim*. Identifications have been added to some of the less obvious items, and an asterisk distinguishes those which, according to the opinion of Aiton and Dillwyn, were introduced into England by Collinson. The numerous oaks surely include more varieties than species.¹

Lord Petre was the first subscriber in 1736, and amongst those who took boxes during the following thirty years, besides the names mentioned, were the Marquis of Kildare and other Irish peers, Thomas Penn, Capel Hanbury, the Prince of Wales, Sir John Mordaunt, Bt., and Dr. Franklin. Collinson acted entirely in a friendly way, taking much trouble, clearing customs, etc., without charge. In this manner very many kinds, especially of the hardy trees of North America, became naturalised in British parks and gardens, and have come to add to the beauty of our scenery, a result which is due in no small measure to the labours of Peter Collinson. With some of his noble friends he became intimate, and would often spend a few days at their country seats, giving them counsel about the improvements they were designing ; he was able, writes Fothergill, to advise what soil, what aspect, best suited different plants and trees ; how best to cover defects, how to improve beauties. Perceiving how important it was that young people of fortune should early take up some rational pursuit, he tried to lead them into that of horticulture. Planting, he would say, and gardening supply a lasting fund of interest. The trees we ourselves have planted, the fruits we have raised, seem like our own children ; their shade, their taste, their fragrance and their beauties affect us with a richer repast than any others. Each succeeding year produces new forms, fresh beauties, and brings besides much profit. He would add, moreover, that he seldom knew a man possessed of a taste for such pleasures, who was not at the same time temperate and virtuous.

¹ *A List of Seeds contained in each Box*, written in Collinson's hand in a small MS. book preserved in the Library of the Herbarium, British Museum of Natural History.

Lord Petre's large plantations at Thorndon were the admiration of all. He showed great art, writes Collinson, in displaying his American plants; the hues of green—darker and lighter, bluish and yellow—were well blended, the silver barks and white-backed leaves gleamed amongst them, and the whole were picturesquely disposed in thickets and clumps, with a border of flowering shrubs. In a great stove-house the cereus and passion flower were allowed to climb to a height of 30 feet, "the most extraordinary sight in the world." When this young nobleman and accomplished man of science was carried off by smallpox in his thirtieth year in 1742, Collinson felt the loss as that of a brother: he had "the presence of a prince," he writes, inspiring both love and awe, and sweetness of temper was linked with his versatile talents.¹

With the second Duke of Richmond also Collinson's relations were intimate and delightful. He visited the duke often, and many American trees found a place in the ducal parks. One of the duke's letters in 1748 ends: "Adieu, my dear Peter, this cruel weather, putts me quite out of patience, butt in frost, or snow, wett weather, or fine, I am, honest Peter, sincerely thyne, Richmond." After his death in 1750, the third duke, a famous Whig statesman and reformer, became also the "sincere and hearty friend" of the Quaker botanist. Lord Lincoln was taking to his garden: the duke noted it eagerly: you and I, he tells Collinson, must go and dine with him, and encourage him in this laudable pursuit. The duke profited by Collinson's advice in laying out his large plantations. Collinson bought for him in 1761 for the sum of £79 one thousand five-year-old cedars of Lebanon, as well as a further supply in the next year. These trees have long been the glory of Goodwood, and to-day 103 of

¹ Lord Petre introduced the Camellia amongst other plants to Britain. A series of letters is extant addressed by his widow to Collinson. She depends much on his aid in disposing of plants and trees; makes him a present of a pig, and asks for stuffs for a new coat for her little son. It was she who sent the seed for the pear tree which still stands in Bartram's garden. See also J. Britten, "The Eighth Lord Petre," in *Dublin Review*, vol. 155, p. 307.

them remain, having braved the winter storms of a century and a half.¹

The letters of Bartram and Collinson contain many thoughts and speculations on natural history. The migration of birds, and the motives for the varying flight of different species; the balance that is maintained between the vegetable and the animal creation; and the effects of climate upon the forms of life, so that beasts are apt to decrease in size as they extend northward—such were some of their topics. In one of his boxes Bartram sent some eggs of a turtle (water tortoise?), which by a lucky chance were matured on the very day (October 20, 1737) that Collinson received them from the ship. He was able to watch fifteen little tailed creatures, “how artfully they disengaged themselves from the shell, and then with their fore-feet scratched their eyes open”; the first ever hatched in England, though unhappily they soon perished. A great “mud turtle, much hunted for to feast our gentry withal,” was another gift in 1755. It had a “mouth wide enough to

¹ Of these trees, which grow in a thin dry soil on the chalk, 139 remained in 1837, and the highest measured 60-70 ft. In 1914 the largest was 100 ft. high, with a girth at 3 ft. of 28½ ft., and a spread 468 ft. in circumference. The charming wooded slopes, which rise above Goodwood House to the downs, are also said to have been planted under Collinson's advice. The present Duke of Richmond and Gordon, K.G., has been so kind as to furnish the writer with information, as well as his head gardener, Mr. F. Brock. See also Loudon, *Arboretum*, iv. 2414; J. Kent, *Records of Goodwood*; and the Earl of March, *A Duke and his Friends*; three letters from Collinson are printed in the latter work. Many letters from the second and third dukes are in the Collinson correspondence at the British Museum, and one (1762) respecting the cedars was sold at Sotheby's, December 5, 1916.

Collinson left a memorandum substantially as follows: “In token of the love and friendship which has for so many years subsisted between myself and my dear friend John Hanbury and his family, I desire that one guinea may be given to Osgood Hanbury to purchase of Gordon two cedars of Lebanon to be planted in the new part of the park. Let the occasion be registered in the Great Bible at Coggeshall that succeeding generations may know our friendship. P. Collinson.” The original letter is preserved at Holfield Grange, Coggeshall, Essex, now in the possession of Mr. Reginald D. Hill, who informs the author that the two cedar trees are still standing, on the north and south sides of the house respectively. John Hanbury, who died in 1758, was a Virginia tobacco merchant in Tower Street, London, in partnership with his cousin Capel Hanbury of Mark Lane. He took some part in planning the settlement of the countries on the Ohio, and the extension of trade beyond the mountains. His son, Osgood Hanbury, succeeded him at Coggeshall. See *Gent. Mag.* 2nd ser. iv. 579; *The Hanbury Family*, by A. A. Locke, 1916, ii. 299 ff.

cram one's fist in"; the old ones grew mossy on the back, and had often several horse-leeches sucking at them. It was also called the snapping turtle, from its habit of lying in the mud at the bottom, its head only protruded, to snap at fish or young ducks when it could catch them by surprise, and very dexterous it was at the work. Collinson received the fearsome beast with awe, and begged his friend to send no more, one was enough! He put it in his pond, where it disappeared for more than a year, and so did the fish with which the pond was stocked.¹

The dried plants received from America were submitted to Gronovius, and later to Solander, for identification, and many new genera and species were found. The former botanist gave in 1747 the name *Bartramia* to some tropical plants with burr-like fruits, now a section of the genus *Triumfetta* (Tiliaceæ). Bartram's name was also bestowed by Hedwig in 1789 on a genus of acrocarpous Mosses. Linnæus is said to have spoken of Bartram as the greatest of natural botanists; he was elected a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Stockholm in 1769. Collinson read some of his friend's letters before the Royal Society, and printed in London in 1751 one of his journals of travel.² In 1765, through Collinson's efforts, Bartram was appointed by King George III. as his Botanist for Florida, with a salary of £50 per annum. This recognition put him in better circumstances, but his zeal soon led him to travel further than his funds allowed, and Collinson had to remind him that his chain had but fifty links, and he must stop when he reached the end of it.

Bartram was an original member of the American

¹ *Chelydra serpentina*. See figures and description in W. Bartram's *Travels*, pls. 4 and 5. T. Ball, *The Testudinata*; H. Gadow, *Amphibia and Reptiles*, 1901.

² *Observations on the Inhabitants, Climate, Soil, Rivers, Productions, Animals, etc., made in his Travels from Pensilvania to Onondago, Oswego and the Lake Ontario*. The preface was written by a Mr. Jackson of the Temple. Collinson's copy with his MS. notes, etc., is in the Brit. Mus. Herbarium. A facsimile reprint was issued at Rochester, N.Y., 1895. Bartram's *Journal on a Journey from St. Augustine up the River St. John's in Florida*, was also published in London about 1767, with a preface by W. Stork, and a second edition in 1769. The original MS. is in the Pennsylvania Hist. Soc. Library.

Philosophical Society, 1743, his name following Franklin's at the head of the roll. He was in touch with other scientific workers in his own country, such as that eccentric master of various lore, Dr. Christopher Witt of Germantown, the accomplished Dr. Cadwallader Colden, sometime Lieutenant-Governor of New York, the worthy Jared Eliot of Connecticut, the amiable Dr. Alexander Garden of Charleston, and two keen Virginian botanists, Dr. John Mitchell of Urbanna and John Clayton of Gloucester County. He also gave ungrudging help to Kalm in his botanical visit to America (1747 to 1751), and put him in the way of many of his discoveries.

A man of natural religion, Bartram disliked theology, and was disowned by the Friends of Darby Monthly Meeting in 1758 on account of his unitarian views, according to the literal standard of the time. He continued, however, to attend the meetings, but was never reinstated as a member. Over the door of his greenhouse were inscribed the words :

Slave to no sect, who takes no private road,
But looks through nature up to nature's God !

"It is through that telescope," he said in one of his letters, "I see God in his glory." He lived to the age of seventy-eight years, dying in 1777, cheerful and active almost to the end, though much troubled at the approach of the British army after the battle of Brandywine.

Bartram was tall and upright in figure, his long visage animated with a frank and friendly expression. His habits were simple, temperate and industrious. He dwelt in patriarchal and hospitable fashion in the midst of his large family, with his hired men and negroes at his table. He had given their freedom to all his slaves, paid them wages, and taught them to read and write : "They love God," he said, "and fear his judgements."¹

¹ See a charming account of a visit paid to Bartram in 1769, written under the feigned name of a Russian gentleman, Ivan Alexiowitz, in the *Letters of an American Farmer* by J. Hector St. John (de Crevecoeur). On the authorship see W. H. Dillingham, *Tribute to the Memory of P. Collinson*, p. 13, note. Bartram's ingenious efforts in reclaiming swampy land from the river and in irrigating and enriching the earth are also depicted.

Bartram's garden was kept up by his sons for many years, especially by William Bartram, who will be mentioned again. Later it was neglected, but was at length in 1884 acquired by the city of Philadelphia, and enlarged to form a public park. It is situated on the west bank of the Schuylkill, below the city, and not far from the junction with the Delaware. Here is still to be seen the large stone house built by Bartram himself in 1731, with the lines cut over the front window of his study :

IT IS GOD ALONE, ALMYTY LORD,
THE HOLY ONE BY ME ADOR'D,
JOHN BARTRAM 1770.

Another stone is inscribed "ΘΕΟΣ ΣΩΖΩ. JOHN. ANN. BARTRAM. 1731." Near one corner of the house stands a pear tree raised from seed sent by Lady Petre about the year 1750 ; it still bears fruit after 150 years. Some fine examples of box are also probably of Bartram's planting, but his tall deciduous cypress is sere and lifeless.

We may take leave of Bartram with a few lines from one of his letters on the beauties of flowers. "What charming colours appear in the various tribes ! What a glow is enkindled in some ! What a gloss shines in others ! With what a masterly skill is every one of the varying tints disposed ! Here they seem to be thrown on with an easy freedom, there they are adjusted with the nicest touches. Some are intersected with elegant stripes, or studded with radiant spots ; others affect to be genteelly powdered, or neatly fringed. Some are arrayed in purple ; some charm with the virgin's white ; others are dashed with crimson ; while others are robed in scarlet. Some glitter like silver lace ; others shine as if embroidered with gold."¹

¹ Darlington, *op. cit.* p. 398. In this work many of Collinson's and Bartram's letters are printed ; others in MS., with his Will (1772) and Inventory of his effects, are at the Pennsylvania Historical Society ; other letters are at the Ridgway Branch of the Library Co. of Philadelphia, and in the British Museum. A letter to Gronovius, 1745, is in Fds. Ref. Lib. ; also copy of another, 1751, describing a deep stony pass in the Blue Mountains. Bartram contributed preface, notes and an appendix to Dr. T. Short's *Medicina*

Collinson's garden was situated at first at Peckham, but in 1749 he removed to Mill Hill, eight miles north-west of London. The house was on the summit of a hill, from which the grounds sloped westward, offering a wide prospect over woodland country to Harrow and beyond. The view is one of the finest near London, and includes in clear weather the heights of Surrey, Windsor Castle, and on the eastern side Epping Forest. Here Collinson gradually brought all his treasures, and his garden became well known for its rare plants, many of

Britannica, a popular work on vegetable medicines, when it was reprinted by Franklin in 1751. See also Proud, *Pennsylvania*, i. 218; Aiton, *Hortus Kewensis*; Sir J. E. Smith, *Correspondence of Linnæus*; *Phil. Trans.* xlii-liii; S. Miller, *Retrospect of Eighteenth Cent.* i. iii.; *Bartram's Garden*, issued by the John Bartram Association, Philadelphia, 1904; Harshberger, *The Botanists of Philadelphia*; Dr. Howard A. Kelly, *Some American Medical Botanists*, 1914; *John Bartram, Botanist*, by the present writer, *Friends' Quart. Examiner*, April 1915.

Bartram, jointly with his son, issued a printed sheet, containing a list of Forest Trees and Shrubs growing in their garden. This is referred to by Humphry Marshall, and seems to have been used for trade purposes. No copy is now known, save one in MS. at the British Museum. Catalogues dating from Bartram's gardens after his time are extant. *Letter to the Author* from J. M. Macfarlane, Director, Botanic Garden, Univ. Philadelphia. Many of Bartram's dried plants are in the Herbarium of the British Museum; also four lists in Solander's hand of 308 specimens sent by Bartram to the king in 1765-66, from Georgia, Carolina and East Florida; and his original specimens of *Dionæa muscipula*, Venus's Fly-trap, on which the descriptions by Solander and Ellis were based.

Bartram had some insight into geology, for he wrote of the formation of the savannahs, and he perceived that the mountains were long covered by sea, before the earth was habitable. *MS. Letters*, Brit. Mus. Herbar.; also *Sloane MSS.* In 1756 he proposed a scheme of systematic borings of the ground to a great depth at various places, in order to find different soils, salt, coal, springs of water, etc., and thus to "compose a curious subterranean map," Darlington, p. 393. The "Bartram oak," *Quercus Heterophylla*, with variable leaves, was described by the younger Michaux from a single tree found in Bartram's meadow, and has been a source of some contention to botanists. It is now generally accounted a hybrid of *Q. Phellos*, L. See *Notes on the Bartram Oak*, by I. C. Martindale, Camden, N.J., 1880; Prof. Sargent, *Silva of North America*, viii. 180. The tree now in Bartram's garden is *Q. Phellos*, and belongs to a later date, but a seedling of the older tree was planted by Marshall in his Arboretum and was living in 1895. A portrait in oils, believed to be of Bartram, is in the possession of the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society. A gold medal was sent to Bartram in 1772 by a Society of Gentlemen, established at Edinburgh in 1764 for the purpose of importing seeds of useful trees and shrubs (Darlington, pp. 405, 434, 436). The present writer is indebted for references, etc., to Frank M. Bartram, Kennett Square, Pa., and to Mrs. Joel Cadbury, Moorestown, N.J., both lineal descendants of the botanist; also to Miss Carlotta Herring-Browne of Philadelphia, who has made untiring researches in many quarters for information on John Bartram, and will shortly publish his Life.

which, alas, he lost at times by the hands of shameless robbers. He lived at Mill Hill for the last twenty years of his life, watching the growth of his trees, and the unfolding of his flowers, letting his spirit move along nature's ways, and taking a simple delight in the beautiful works of the Author of all things.

The site of Collinson's house and garden is now occupied by the large buildings and playing fields of Mill Hill School, which has attained a place of eminence among the schools of England, and is now under the able guidance of Sir John D. McClure. Old Peter Collinson is regarded as the *genius loci*, one of the hostels being named Collinson House; and his portrait, some pieces of furniture, and an oil-painting by Renton of his ancient dwelling are carefully preserved. Many of his trees still grace the borders of the fields and garden; some are decrepit in the extreme of age. Two Portugal laurels have so propagated themselves by layers, with numerous younger stems, as to form a grove or arbour covering 5000 square feet: this is said to be a unique specimen in Britain. One of the most beautiful of his trees is a variegated holly still in the perfection of its growth; it was noted by Loudon in 1835 as a very handsome tree, and though it is not large, there seems no reason to doubt that it is the same, and that in its graceful form and golden foliage, unhurt by 150 winters, we behold one of the gems of Collinson's garden.¹

¹ Loudon examined Collinson's trees in 1835 when they were from seventy to ninety years old. His measurements may be compared with some made in 1914, for which the author is indebted to his friend, Henry Harris of Mill Hill. The deciduous cypress sent by Bartram from the cedar swamps of the South still puts forth its beautiful feathered foliage and raises its curious "knees"; it was in 1835 1½ ft. in diameter, and 48 ft. high: the girth is now 8 ft. at 3 ft. from the ground, and it is perhaps a little higher: it has been damaged by gales. The two trunks of the hemlock spruce, probably the original tree introduced by Collinson, were each about 1 ft. thick at 1 ft. height, now 11 ft. in girth; height 40 ft., little altered; spread now 76 ft. A holm oak has now a girth of 12 ft. at 2 ft. height: its spread was 35 ft., now 50 ft. There are some cedars planted according to tradition by Linnæus; seventy years ago the tradition attached to an upright cypress; but it is unlikely that Linnæus ever came to Mill Hill. The boles of two

Amongst many plants apparently introduced into Britain by Collinson may be noted several valuable trees ; the hemlock spruce and black larch have been already mentioned, as well as the sugar maple, the American alder and the black birch. The white cedar (*Cupressus thyoides*) is also one of his, as are the cucumber tree (*Magnolia acuminata*), and the *Ailantus* or tree of heaven. Of the heath tribe he brought in, besides the *Rhododendron*, *Kalmias* and others referred to, three species of *Azalea*, the first to be cultivated in this country. Of plants of medicinal virtue, hitherto unknown, he imported, besides the *Hamamelis*, *Hydrastis Canadensis* (Turmeric root), *Cassia marilandica* (a kind of senna), and the snake-root (*Cimicifuga*, now called *Macrotys racemosa*). The *Claytonia*, the American cowslip or shooting star (*Dodecatheon*), paper mulberry (*Broussonetia*), Indian mallow (*Sida*), resin plant and some fine species of *Phlox* are others that we owe to Collinson, as we do the curious and handsome ostrich fern (*Struthiopteris*).¹

When Fothergill settled in London in 1740, he soon met Collinson ; their tastes were similar ; and the example of his elder friend strengthened the bent of Fothergill's mind towards natural history. Collinson kept up a correspondence with Linnæus during many years. His letters bear token of an intimate friendship ;

cedars had a diameter of nearly 4 ft. ; the girths are now 12 ft. and 14 ft. 4 in., at 2 ft. height ; the spread has increased from 60 to 100 ft. Another cedar has a girth of 15½ ft., and the spread has increased from 70 to 85 ft. ; this tree has lost large branches in snowstorms, but resin still weeps from its trunk. An acacia and a tulip tree may also be mentioned.

Ridgeway House, Mill Hill, was built by one of the Nicolls about 1637, and occupied at a later date by Michael Russell, whose daughter Mary married Collinson in 1724, the latter succeeding his father-in-law at the house in 1749. Mary Collinson, a lady beloved for her virtues, died of convulsions in 1753, at the age of forty-nine years. The site of the old house, which was pulled down about 1825, is in an enclosed garden to the south of the principal school building, the garden wall bordering the road alone remaining. See works by Norman G. Brett James, Master at Mill Hill School (to whose courtesy the author is indebted) ; *The Millhillian*, 1899, p. 192 ; *History of Mill Hill School* ; and *Some History of Mill Hill Village*.

¹ More than fifty plants are known as his introductions, and there is some evidence for adding a good many others which have been here included. See [L. W. Dillwyn] *Hortus Collinsonianus*, 1843, not published.

discarding the eulogistic terms then usual—*vir eruditissime*, etc.—he addressed the botanist as “my dear friend.” In 1739 he thanked Linnæus for attaching his name to a new genus of American plants, *Collinsonia* (the horse balm); scented herbs, now classed in the order Labiatae, the species *C. Canadensis* L. having been introduced by Collinson in 1735. He gave Linnæus news of Sir Hans Sloane—at the age of eighty-eight years, active and hearty, daily entertaining himself in his large collection; and of Catesby working at the Natural History of Carolina. After Linnæus had brought out his great work, the *Species Plantarum* (1753), in which, with a revised nomenclature, and a single name to denote each species of a genus, all plants were arranged on his famous system based upon the number of stamens and pistils, Collinson reported to him from time to time how it was received in England. Lord Bute, an unpopular Prime Minister, but a botanist of good repute, who had a fine garden at Caen Wood, and counted Collinson amongst his “dear friends,” voiced a natural irritation at the disuse of old names; so did Alston, Philip Miller and others; but one after another of the English workers adopted the new system. Miss Jane Colden, daughter of Dr. Cadwallader Colden, was the first lady to make profession of it, for there were women cultivators of the gentle science in those days.

In 1758 Collinson entered into a careful argument to confute the belief, which was held by Linnæus and other men of science, that swallows were accustomed to retire under water to spend the winter. The idea had taken origin from the gathering of these birds at the time of migration among the reeds, and on the banks of streams, and from their bodies being occasionally found in the water; and it had come to be an article of scientific faith. Collinson could not persuade his friend, who it must be said was a very dilatory correspondent, to put forward his proofs. He had to return to the charge again and again, until at length Linnæus replied, and emphatically maintained his opinion, to which Collinson could not

but offer a courteous deference; at the same time he urged that Linnæus should be able to demonstrate the presence of special organs in the body of the bird to enable it to perform this feat of living under water. It is doubtful whether Linnæus was ever convinced of his error, one that was common to the age, and to which White of Selborne and Dr. Johnson also gave credence. Collinson brought the subject more than once before the Royal Society, citing facts observed by such travellers as Adanson and Sir C. Wager; also that it was the custom of boys by the river Rhine in springtime to draw out martins from their deep holes in the cliffs, where some of these birds had rested torpid all winter: others had migrated to the south. Barrington and others as persistently maintained the old hypothesis.¹

Collinson had entered the Royal Society in 1728: four years later he was elected on the Council, and he served on that body at intervals for upwards of thirty years. He brought before the society many observations of his own in natural history, and was always on the look-out to put forward others made by his friends. In the provision and arrangement of papers for the society's meetings he took an active part. The topics of his essays include the hardness of shells, the stone found in the Belluga fish, crabs, and how they can break off their own legs, the cicada beetle, the *libella* or may-fly, and the fossil teeth of large mammals. Nor were his interests limited to the pursuit of natural history. Literature of many kinds attracted him. When in 1731 a subscription library was set on foot by the exertions of Franklin at Philadelphia, Collinson undertook without reward the office of agent for the library in London, and for thirty years transacted its business, assisting in the choice of books, and disbursing a considerable annual remittance for making additions to its shelves. With the first consignment of books he sent two gifts of his

¹ The statement in Linnæus' *Regnum Animale* that swallows hibernate is however crossed out in Linnæus' own handwriting in a copy preserved by the Linnean Society. See also *Corresp. Linn.*; *Phil. Trans.* li. pt. 2, 459, liii. 101; Hon. D. Barrington, *Miscellanies*, pp. 174 sqq.

own, *Newton's Philosophy* and *Miller's Gardener's Dictionary*; his copy of the latter work is still in use at the library. By his assiduity he contributed much to the success of the institution; it was the first of its kind, and led to the founding of many others in the American provinces. It is now well known as the Library Company of Philadelphia, and its noble building under the care of Mr. G. M. Abbot holds more than 200,000 volumes.¹

Not content with this help, Collinson was accustomed to communicate to the library directors accounts of new improvements and discoveries in agriculture and in other arts and sciences. In the year 1745 he sent over a description of some experiments in electricity which had been made in Germany, together with a glass tube, and directions how to use it. Franklin took up the matter, repeated the experiments, enlarged them and pursued the subject, writing a few years later a series of four letters to his friend Collinson, in which he gave, in the clear and candid language of which he was a master, an account of the results he had obtained, and illustrated his theme by means of diagrams. These letters were shown by Collinson to Fothergill: the latter perceived their value, and advised that they should be published. They were given to Cave for the *Gentleman's Magazine*, but he preferred to print them separately as a pamphlet. This was accordingly done in 1751, with the addition of a paper of "Opinions and Conjectures" received later. The publication was carried out under Fothergill's inspection, and with a preface from his pen, but unsigned, in which he says that he "was prevailed upon to commit such detached pieces as were in his hands to the press, without waiting for the ingenious author's permission so to do."

In the meantime the substance of the letters had already been communicated by Collinson to his friends in the Royal Society, which was then much occupied with electrical research. Dr., afterwards Sir, William

¹ Letter, B. Franklin to M. Collinson, in *Account of P. Collinson*, in Fothergill's *Works*, ii. 340, note; G. M. Abbot, *Short History of the Library Company of Philadelphia*, 1913; also extracts from minutes of the Company kindly furnished by Mr. Abbot.

Watson had won renown by his famous experiments and discoveries, especially on the conduction of the electric current, for which he received the society's Copley medal in 1745. It is often stated that Franklin's early researches were neglected and even derided by the Royal Society ; but a careful perusal of the transactions and of the letters preserved affords no evidence for this statement. In a paper read in 1748, Watson quoted one of Franklin's letters dated June 1, 1747 ; and after Franklin's book was published (May 1751) Watson gave an account of it before the society on the 6th of June, including in his review a fifth letter, dated in the preceding February and received by Collinson too late for inclusion. This letter described the killing of turkeys by electrical strokes, after which, it was said, they ate uncommonly well : the experimenter also had nearly killed himself by a shock from two Leyden jars. " Mr. Franklin," so Watson wrote, " appears to be a very able and ingenious man. He has a head to conceive and a hand to carry into execution whatever he thinks may conduce to enlighten the subject matter of which he is treating."

The Royal Society was now thoroughly interested. On November 14, another of Franklin's letters to Collinson, dated June 20, was read, explaining the effects of lightning on Captain Waddel's ship, when the electric fire was seen at the mast-head before the stroke, and showing that a wire carried into the sea would have prevented the damage. A year later, December 21, 1752, Collinson brought forward another letter dated October 1, in which Franklin described his success in drawing the electric fire from the clouds by means of a kite. The society awarded Franklin the Copley medal in 1753 " for his Curious Experiments and observations in Electricity." Other papers from his pen followed, and on May 29, 1756, he was elected a fellow " in consideration of his great merit," his nomination paper being signed by the Earl of Macclesfield, president ; Lords Parker and Willoughby ; Collinson, Watson and Birch, members of the Council. The vote was unanimous,

and on the motion of Watson, in whose generous nature there was no room for jealousy, Franklin's name was inserted on the list without fee or payment. Collinson wrote to Franklin to convey the news, and the latter replied on September 23, much surprised and pleased at receiving an honour he had never asked or expected. Yet Franklin's work in electricity, marking an epoch in that science, was only the by-play of a busy man of affairs, whose chief tasks lay in another arena.¹

In person Collinson was rather short and stout, plain in his dress, kind and liberal in his manner, and his conversation ready, pleasing and well-informed. He was an early riser, and spent many hours in his garden. By a due economy of his time he was able to carry on a large business and an extensive correspondence with all parts of the globe without ever appearing to be in a hurry. He was pleased with his honours, scientific and social—perhaps a little proud of them. His years of old age—for he reached his seventy-fifth year, dying in 1768—were passed in much contentment at Mill Hill, though his outward means were reduced. “I am here retired all alone,” he writes to Bartram, “the old Christmas log is burning, and the fire of friendship is blazing. Franklin has been staying here with me—Dr. Solander brought him”: “my garden is now a paradise of delight”: again, “I survey my garden with raptures, to see the infinite variety with which the Creator has enriched the vegetable world.”

Fothergill wrote an account of Collinson (aided by the latter's son), which was printed without the author's

¹ *Experiments and Observations on Electricity made at Philadelphia in America*, by Mr. Benjamin Franklin, and communicated in several Letters to Mr. P. Collinson, of London, F.R.S., London, 1751 (price 2s. 6d.). Lettsom's copy is in the Brit. Mus. Lib. See also Lettsom, *Mem. Collinson*, p. 266; Franklin, *Autobiography*, in his *Works*, ed. Bigelow, i. 277; Letter, P. Collinson to B. Franklin, 1756 (?1751), in *American Philos. Soc., Franklin Centennial Celebration, Calendar*, lxix. 64; Letters from Franklin in A. H. Church's *Letters and Papers*, Royal Society, 1908; *Phil. Trans.* xlv. 98, xlvii. 202, 289, 565; Weld, *Hist. Roy. Soc.* ii. 7 and note; Lists and MS. records, Roy. Soc. Dr. Franklin was elected to the Council of the society in 1760–61, 1767–68, and 1773. His portrait by Joseph Wright hangs in the society's house, and is reproduced in this volume.

name in 1769, and which is one of the principal sources of our information. "I know not," he says in the preamble, "that I ever wished for leisure, and the talent of biography, more than at present," in order to place before the public an example worthy of record and of imitation. In going on to portray the character of his late friend Fothergill reveals his own, when he dwells upon "a life continually employed in commendable pursuits, and in acts of lasting and extensive utility." We thus "participate afresh," he writes, "in every social action of the friend whom we loved whilst living, and pay the tribute of a grateful and honourable remembrance to his name." The domestic happiness in which he lived was no less than his public esteem. The last letter he wrote to Linnæus (March 16, 1767) contains the following account of the oncoming of the spring in his garden, and this may fitly conclude our notice of Peter Collinson.

February brought soft sunny days, and so continued, mild and warm, with southerly winds all the month. This brought on the spring flowers. Feb. 8th the *Helleborus niger* made a fine show; the *Galanthus* and winter aconite by the 15th covered the garden with beauty, among some crocuses and violets and *Primula veris*. Oh, how obedient the vegetable tribes are to their great Lawgiver! He has given this race of flowers a constitution and fibres to resist the cold. They bloom in frost and snow, like the good men of Sweden. These flowers have some time made their exit, and now, March 6th, a tenderer tribe succeeds. Such, my dear friend, is the order of Nature. Now the garden is covered with more than 20 different species of crocus, produced from seed, and with the *Iris persica*, *Cyclamen vernalis* and polyanthus. The 16th March, plenty of *Hyacinthus cœruleus* and *albus* are in the open borders, with anemones; and now my favourites, the great tribe of narcissus, show all over the garden and fields; we have two species wild in the woods that now begin to flower. Next the *Tulipa præcox* is near blooming; and so Flora decks the garden with endless variety, ever charming.¹

¹ The letter has been slightly abridged. The *Gentleman's Magazine* between 1751 and 1766 contains thirteen papers by Collinson, dealing with such various subjects as the Weymouth pine and sycamore, chestnut, mennil-deer of Bengal, the fascination of rattlesnakes, fossil "elephant's tusks," and

accounts of Dr. Stephen Hales and Dr. Wm. Stukely. One paper in 1764 communicates an account of the custom, in Spain, of placing the sheep on the cool mountains during the summer season.

Collinson was attacked by "strangury" whilst on a visit to Lord Petre, and came home to die. No murmur escaped him: "Few men have enjoyed life more," he said; "I am thankful to Providence he has preserved me so long. I cheerfully resign, and am not afraid to die." He was buried in Friends' Burial Ground, Long Lane, Bermondsey. Enclosed in his Will was a paper, stating "that he hoped he should leave behind him a good name, which he valued more than riches: that he had endeavoured not to live uselessly; and that all his days he constantly aimed to be a friend to mankind." He left two children: a son, Michael Collinson, born 1727, who succeeded him at Mill Hill; and a daughter Mary, who married in 1753 John Cator, afterwards of Beckenham, Kent, a member of a family since well known in that neighbourhood. Although Cator at first "scarce knew an apple tree from an oak," both he and young Collinson became so eager about plants that the father said he had something to do to manage them. Michael Collinson corresponded with Bartram after his father's death until the war. He was a man of travel and culture; unhappily, in later life, moved by political prejudice, and perhaps also owing to the painful disorders from which he suffered, he turned against his old friends and even his father's memory. Having inherited the Russell property, M. Collinson resided at the Chauntry, Sproughton, Ipswich, where he died in 1795. His only son, Charles Streynsham Collinson, lived long in India, and afterwards at Sproughton, serving as High Sheriff of Suffolk in 1801. After his death, the fine Collinson library was sold, in 1834. C. S. Collinson's three sons died in war service, leaving no male descendant of Peter Collinson to bear his name. See Darlington, *op. cit.*; *Gent. Mag.*, 1797, p. 792; 1812, i. 207; 1834, i. 11-15; 1840, ii. 332; *Some Anecdotes of P. Collinson*, ed. 1785; *MS. Letter*, Franklin to P. Collinson, June 26, 1753, with caustic endorsement, sold at Sotheby's, Dec. 1913; *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 1895, p. 6; *Corresp. of Dr. R. Richardson*, 1835, p. 401 note; Tablets in Sproughton Church. On Peter Collinson, see also *Account* by Fothergill in the latter's *Works*, and in *Gent. Mag.*, 1770, 177, which was afterwards recast as a *Memoir* by Lettson, and appended to 4th edition of his *Mem. Fothergill*, 1786; Letters printed in *Corresp. Linnæus*; and MS. Letters from and to Collinson, preserved at the British Museum (*Sloane and Add. MSS.*), and at the Museum of Natural History; other MS. letters are in the hands of J. H. Tritton of Lyons Hall, near Chelmsford, and of the Logan family of Philadelphia, and at Fds. Ref. Lib., London; some also were sold at Sotheby's, Dec. 5, 1916; *Phil. Trans.* xxxvi-lvii; also *Roy. Soc. Letters and Papers*, Dec., i-iv; *Archæologia*, i. 305; *MS. Registers*, Soc. of Friends; Loudon, *Arboretum*, pt. i. ch. ii. sect. 2; Nichols, *Lit. Anecd.*; Southey, *The Doctor*; W. H. Dillingham, *Tribute, etc.*, in *Biblical Repertory*, Phila., 1851, xxiii. 416, reprinted with additions, 2nd ed. 1852; Britten and Boulger, *Bibliographical Index of British and Irish Botanists*. Engraved portraits of Collinson, by J. Miller and by Trotter, are prefixed to his memoirs; the original oil portrait is unknown.

CHAPTER XIV

FOTHERGILL AS A BOTANIST—HIS GARDEN

The Friend is cut off from many of the sources of enjoyment open to others; the ballroom, the theatre, are forbidden to him. He is neither a pessimist nor a misanthrope. The earth abounds in beauty, all of which is open to his chastened senses. He revels in the sunlight and the breeze. The songs of the birds fall, welcome, into his ear. The colors of the flowers attract him.—Dr. Jos. T. ROTHROCK on Humphry Marshall.

Vous travaillez pour ainsi dire à côté de Dieu, vous n'êtes que les collaborateurs de la loi divine de la végétation.—LAMARTINE, *Discours aux Jardiniers*.

THE record of Fothergill's scientific pursuits sets us wondering how he found time for them in the midst of his incessant medical work, his labours in his own society, and his American correspondence. Only a habit of despatch and a methodical ordering of the hours of the day could enable him to do so much. His gardens and his collections supplied indeed a by-play, in which his faculties, strained by constant dealing with the problems of life and death, found a welcome exercise in paths where he was freed from the weight of responsibility. He was careful not to allow these pursuits, delightful as they were, to interfere with his primary duties in the world, or with the allegiance he owed to a higher Power, the sense of whose behests was ever with him. He pleased himself with the thought that in his cabinets and his flower borders he had a solace in store for old age, to fill up the hours, and to call him out to a little exercise, when his strength should no longer allow him to fulfil the duties of an active life. That period of leisure never came. But in the meantime it was a pure pleasure to his orderly

mind to arrange his shells and corals, and still more to watch the growth of new and beautiful plants from the seeds sent to him from many parts of the world.

The objects which Fothergill had in view in forming a botanical garden were the cultivation of plants and trees which were beautiful, remarkable for their figure or their fragrance, curious to the scientific mind, or useful in the arts, and especially the introduction of new species which might be to the advantage of medicine or serve as articles of food. Botanical or physic gardens had already become common in England. The Barber Surgeons had a herb-garden attached to their hall in Monkwell Street, London, at an early date, and the College of Physicians from 1587 onwards had three such gardens in succession, the first under John Gerarde. The Society of Apothecaries' Physic Garden which still flourishes at Chelsea dates from 1673: in Fothergill's time, under Philip Miller, it was said to excel all the gardens in Europe. The botanic garden in Edinburgh was founded about 1680: that at Kew was established by the Princess dowager of Wales in 1760, two years before that of Fothergill. In a letter to Linnæus dated 1774 Fothergill thus describes the origin of his own garden. "Our Collinson," he writes, "taught me to love flowers, and who that shared his comradeship, could do other than cultivate plants? What manner of man he was I need not say to thee. It was he urged me to form a garden, himself giving me many things, and opportunity favoured the collection of others. Thus has come into being a paradise (*Gaza*) of plants of small extent, whose master, if slenderly furnished with botanical science, has at least a burning love of botany itself (*res botanica*)."¹

Fothergill at first chose a sheltered plot of land on the Surrey side of the Thames, where vegetable growth was luxuriant, and was about to purchase it, when he learned that there was a tenant-at-will settled upon the ground and depending on its produce for the subsistence of his family. At once he gave up the proposal, stating "that

¹ MS. Letter, in Latin, in the Linnean Society's Library.

that could never afford gratification to him which entailed misery on another," and he even made a present, it is said, of the purchase money to the family.¹

In 1762 he bought an estate at Upton in Essex, containing at first thirty acres, but afterwards enlarged.² Here he planted a flower garden, surrounded by shrubberies and a wilderness of trees. A piece of water wound its way through the midst, its banks lined with exotic shrubs. Evergreens gave the aspect of spring even in mid-winter. A greenhouse and hothouses, then less common than now, opened by a glass door from one of the villa sitting-rooms, and extended for about 260 feet. Here oranges and myrtles blossomed freely, amid some 3400 species of plants brought from warm countries. Nearly as many more species flourished on the open ground, whilst the forest trees of North America and China, rare oaks, firs and maples, thrived in the adjoining plantations. "At an expense seldom undertaken by an individual," writes Sir Joseph Banks, "and with an ardour that was visible in the whole of his conduct, he procured from all parts of the world a great number of the rarest plants, and protected them in the amplest buildings which this or any other country has seen." Fothergill's collection was "equalled by nothing but royal munificence, bestowed upon the botanic gardens at Kew. In my opinion no other garden in Europe, royal or of a subject, had nearly so many scarce and valuable plants."³

In order to enrich his garden Fothergill entered into correspondence with persons in far countries, and enlisted the aid of sea-captains and travellers. He thus obtained large quantities of plants and seeds from China, Hindustan

¹ *Works*, iii. p. xxxvi. Vicq d'Azyr in his *Éloge* of Fothergill romances a little upon this incident: "Mes vœux sont à leur comble, s'écrie-t-il, au lieu de végétaux que j'aurais plantés, ce sont des hommes que je nourris." Fothergill had a garden later in the vicinity.

² The house was possessed by the Rooke family from 1566, and thence called Rooke Hall; passing in 1666 to Sir Robert Smyth, and after nearly a century to Admiral Elliot, from whom Fothergill purchased it.

³ Sir Joseph Banks, in G. Thompson, *Memoirs of Fothergill*, p. 37. A view of the house and ornamental grounds is contained in *Quaker Biographies*, Phila., iv. 55.

and other of the East Indies, the West Indies, Siberia and the newly discovered islands. He employed collectors to explore for him the forests and valleys of North America, and sent one such, William Brass, jointly with the Earl of Tankerville, Sir Joseph Banks and Dr. William Pitcairn into West Africa.¹ In conjunction too with Dr. Pitcairn, who had a fine botanical garden of five acres extent at Islington (in Upper Street, opposite the end of Cross Street), he commissioned an able collector, Archibald Menzies, to search in 1775 the Alps of Central Europe for new flowers. "Jusqu'ici," says his French eulogist, "ces grands traits de générosité avaient été réservés pour honorer l'histoire des souverains."

Some fuller account must here be given of his American collectors: He came to know John Bartram through Collinson, and often corresponded with him, although Fothergill's busy habits left his friend's letters long unacknowledged. From Bartram he received many plants for his garden as well as objects for his museum. Bartram had a son, a botanist like his father, and clever with his pencil, by name William Bartram. Before Collinson died he was able to afford to the son of his old friend two valuable introductions. The Duchess of Portland, a young lady who inherited her scientific tastes from the talented houses of Cavendish and Boyle, was dining with Collinson one day, when he showed her young Bartram's drawings. She offered him twenty guineas to make her some more, and proposed further employment for his skill. About the same time Collinson put the drawings before Fothergill, who admired them much, and gave him a commission for a series of pictures of land, river and sea shells, and of tortoises, with notes on each. "Set all thy wits and ingenuity to work," wrote Collinson to the young naturalist, "to gratify such a patron, eminent for his generosity and his noble spirit to promote every branch of natural history."

¹ William Brass collected 250 species of plants at Cape Coast: his specimens are at the British Museum. See Britten and Boulger, *op. cit.* A genus of orchids was named *Brassia* by R. Brown in his honour. Four of his letters are in the Kew Library.

But young Bartram's disposition was that of a rover rather than of a steady worker. He loved plants like his father, who had trained him to be an excellent field naturalist, but his gentle, modest and contemplative disposition was not allied with robustness of body or perseverance. In 1772 he wrote to Fothergill, proposing to make a botanical journey into East and West Florida, a country then little explored by naturalists, and the hinder parts occupied only by Indians. Fothergill agreed to the plan, and committed the matter to Dr. Chalmers, a physician of high standing at Charlestown, who showed Bartram every attention and kindness, supplying him with money on Fothergill's account, and making arrangements for his journey. He was to receive from Fothergill up to £50 sterling per annum for two years certain, besides expenses of packing, etc. For this he was to collect and send all the curious plants and seeds and other natural productions that he could find, and to draw birds, reptiles, insects and plants on the spot at a further payment.

Well equipped, W. Bartram set forth in April 1773, and went southward, exploring the coastlands of Carolina and Georgia, and thence into Florida, where he ascended the St. John's River to Lake George: afterwards he crossed westward to Apalachee Bay, and returning spent a long time in Lower Georgia. Years passed by, and in the spring of 1776 he penetrated into the country of the Cherokee Indians, ascending the Seneca River, and crossing the mountains to the Tennessee: finding it unsafe to go further he turned, and traversed the lands of the Musco-gulges or Creeks, and the Chactaws, through what is now Alabama, as far as Mobile and Lake Ponchartrain. He visited many of the Indian settlements and recorded observations of their ways and manners. The journey was an adventurous one, Bartram finding his way, mostly alone, either on foot, or on horseback, or in a small boat, among the far wildernesses and rivers of the south; fraternising with the red men, or welcomed here and there by some lonely settler, whose negroes grew

indigo or sugar-cane, and going into winter quarters as each year passed. He seldom wrote even when there was a chance of sending letters, and his friends gave him up for lost among the hostile Indians, but his gentle ways and inoffensive spirit carried him everywhere unharmed, whilst the hunter in him knew how to subsist in the lonely wilds. He came back at last to Pennsylvania in January 1778, finding his father dead, and the American provinces in the throes of war.

Fothergill, it is to be feared, reaped little of the benefit which he hoped for from his young friend's journeys during the first year or two, for although the bills drawn by Bartram were duly paid, very little in the way of plants or seeds reached England; and after this the war interrupted their coming. An account of his travels was published by Bartram in 1791: it was well received, being reprinted in England twice, earning the warm encomium of Coleridge, and it was afterwards translated into French. The book is pleasant reading—the artless account of an unhurried wanderer through field and forest, who made friends with every flower and tree, every bird and insect, and whose heart was one with nature herself. A few extracts, with omissions—for his style is redundant—will here be given.

This world, as a glorious apartment of the boundless palace of the Creator, is furnished with an infinite variety of animated scenes, inexpressibly beautiful and pleasing, equally free to the inspection and enjoyment of all his creatures. The great Author has impartially distributed his favours to his creatures, so that the attributes of each one may manifest the divine and inimitable workmanship. The pompous Palms of Florida and the glorious Magnolia strike us with the sense of dignity and magnificence; the expansive umbrageous Live Oak with awful veneration; the *Carica papaya* with the harmony of beauty and grace; the *Lilium superbum* represents pride and vanity; *Kalmia latifolia* and *Azalea coccinea*, mirth and gaiety; the *Illicium floridanum* and the *Convallaria majalis* of the Cherokees, charm with their beauty and fragrance. Yet they are not to be compared for usefulness with the nutritious *Triticum*; for clothing with the *Linum*, or for medicinal virtues with the *Papaver*.

What faculty is it, that directs the *cirri* of the *Cucurbita* and other climbers, towards the twigs of shrubs, trees and other friendly supports? We see them invariably leaning, extending, and like the fingers of the human hand, reaching to catch hold of what is nearest, just as if they had eyes to see with; and when their hold is fixed, they coil the tendril in a spiral form, by which artifice it becomes more elastic, and they are enabled to dilate and contract, humouring the motion of the limbs and twigs. Is it sense or instinct that influences their actions?

Birds are in general social creatures; intelligent, ingenious, volatile; and they consist of various nations, as may be observed from their different structure, manners, and language or voice; each nation, though subdivided into many different tribes, retaining its general form or structure, a similarity of customs, and a sort of dialect or language, particular to that nation from which these tribes seem to have descended. What I mean by a language in birds is the common notes or speech that they use when employed in feeding themselves or their young, and in calling on one another, as well as their menaces against an enemy; for their songs seem to be musical compositions, performed only by the males about the time of incubation, in part to divert and amuse the female, entertaining her with melody.

An adventure at the Isle of Palms will illustrate his mode of travel.

This delightful spot, planted by nature, presents a grove of Palms, with a few pyramidal Magnolias, Live Oaks, golden Orange, and the animating *Zanthoxylon*. What a beautiful retreat is here! A blessed unviolated spot of earth, rising from the limpid waters of the lake: its fragrant groves and blooming lawns invested by encircling ranks of the *Yucca gloriosa*: the balmy *Lantana*, ambrosial *Citra*, perspiring their mingled odours. I broke away at last from the enchanting spot, and stepped on board my boat, hoisted sail, and soon approached the coast of the main at the cool eve of day: then traversing a semicircular cove of the lake, verged by low grassy meadows, at length by dusk I made a safe harbour in a little lagoon on the shore. Here was a clean sandy beach, made hard and firm by the beating surf, when the wind sets from the east. I drew up my light vessel on the sloping shore, that she might be safe in case of a sudden storm of wind in the night. A few yards back the land was a little elevated and

overgrown with shrubs and low trees, yet sufficiently high to shelter me from the chilling dews ; and being but a few yards distance from my vessel, here I fixed my encampment. A brisk wind arising from the lake drove away the clouds of mosquitoes into the thickets. Now, with difficulty and industry, I collected a sufficiency of dry wood to keep up a light during the night, and to roast some trout which I had caught when descending the river ; their heads I stewed in the juice of oranges, which, with boiled rice, afforded me a wholesome and delicious supper : I hung the remainder of my broiled fish on the snags of some shrubs over my head. At last, after reconnoitring my habitation, I returned, spread abroad my skins and blanket upon the clean sands by my fire side, and betook myself to repose.

How glorious is the powerful sun, minister of the Most High, as he leaves our hemisphere, retiring from our sight beyond the western forests ! I behold with gratitude his departing smiles.

At midnight I awake ; when, raising my head erect, I find myself alone in the wilderness of Florida, on the shores of Lake George. When quite awake, I start at the heavy tread of some animal ; the dry limbs of trees upon the ground crackle under his feet ; the close shrubby thickets part and bend under him as he rushes off. I rekindle my sleepy fire. The bright flame ascends and illuminates the ground and groves around me. Then looking up I find my fish carried off, though I thought them safe on the shrubs just over my head, but their scent, carried to a great distance by the damp nocturnal breezes, was I suppose too powerful an attraction to the rapacious wolf. How much easier might it have been for him to have leaped upon my breast in the dead of sleep, and torn my throat, than to have made protracted and circular approaches, and then after espying the fish over my head, with the greatest caution and silence to rear up, and take them off the snags one by one, and that so cunningly as not to awaken me until he had fairly accomplished his purpose.

He travelled much among the Indians. On one occasion he writes :

It was drawing on towards the close of day, the skies serene and calm, and gentle zephyrs breathing through the fragrant pines ; the prospect around enchantingly beautiful ; endless green savannas, chequered with coppices of fragrant shrubs. Nature seemed silent, and nothing appeared to ruffle the

happy moments of evening contemplation ; when on a sudden an Indian appeared crossing the path at a considerable distance before me. On perceiving that he was armed with a rifle, the first sight of him startled me, and I endeavoured to elude his sight by stopping my pace, and keeping large trees between us ; but he espied me, and turning short about, set spurs to his horse and came up on full gallop. I never before this was afraid at the sight of an Indian, but at this time I must own that my spirits were very much agitated : being unarmed I was in his power ; and having now but a few moments to prepare, I resigned myself entirely to the will of the Almighty, trusting to his mercies for my preservation : my mind then became tranquil, and I resolved to meet the dreaded foe with resolution and cheerful confidence. The Siminole stopped suddenly, three or four yards before me, and silently viewed me, his countenance angry and fierce, shifting his rifle from shoulder to shoulder, and looking about instantly on all sides. I advanced towards him, and with an air of confidence offered him my hand, hailing him, Brother ; at this he hastily jerked back his arm, with a look of malice, rage and disdain ; when again, looking at me more attentively, he spurred up to me, and with dignity in his look and action, gave me his hand. . . . In fine, we shook hands, and parted in a friendly manner ; and he informed me of the course and distance to the trading house, where I found he had been extremely ill-treated the day before.

I now set forward again, and after eight or ten miles' riding arrived at the banks of St. Mary's, and got safe over. The trading company here received me with great civility. On my relating the adventure with the Indian, the chief replied, " My friend, consider yourself a fortunate man : that fellow," said he, " is one of the greatest villains on earth, a noted murderer, and outlawed by his countrymen. Last evening he was here, we took his gun from him, broke it in pieces, and gave him a severe drubbing : he, however, made his escape, carrying off a new rifle gun, with which, he said, going off, he would kill the first white man he met."

Bartram associated with the Indian tribes : that " I might judge," he says, " for myself whether they were deserving of the severe censure " commonly passed upon them, and incapable of civilisation. He was satisfied that they were desirous of becoming united with the whites in civil and religious society. He advocated

" sending men of ability and virtue, under the authority of the government, as friendly visitors into their towns : let these men be instructed to learn perfectly their languages, and by a liberal and friendly intimacy become acquainted with their customs and usages, religious and civil ; their system of legislation and police, as well as their most ancient and present traditions and history. These men would be qualified to judge equitably, and when returned to us, to make true and just reports, which might assist the legislature of the United States to form, and offer to them, a judicious plan for their civilisation and union with us."

William Bartram became an acknowledged botanist. He might have been professor at the Philadelphia University, but he was content to dig, barefoot and coarsely clad, in the ancient garden, where Cutler found him in 1787, and where he lived on for many years with his brother John, drawing and botanising to the last. He died there, a very old man, in 1823.¹

Besides the Bartrams, there were other Pennsylvanians employed by Fothergill to collect North American plants and seeds for his garden, as well as to send him curious animals, birds, reptiles and insects.² He got much help from Humphry Marshall, a Friend, cousin to the Bartrams,

¹ W. Bartram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, E. & W. Florida, etc.*, Phila., 1791 ; London, 1792 and 1794 ; Dublin, 1793 ; and trans. by Benoist, Paris, 1799. In the Library of the Brit. Mus. Herbarium are two small volumes of portions of his journals, in Bartram's handwriting ; also a large volume of drawings of plants, birds and reptiles, exquisitely drawn and coloured : probably these were originally sent to Fothergill. In Frds. Ref. Lib. (MSS. Gibson, iv. 19) is a memo., dated April 2, 1773, and signed by Wm. Bartram, that he had "received of Lionel Chalmers £73 : 10s., [in the debased currency of the colonies] equal in value to 10 guineas, towards defraying my charges in search of plants," etc. See MS. Letters, J. F. to Dr. Chalmers, Oct. 23, 1772, also to J. & W. Bartram, in *Bartram MSS.* vol. iv., Hist. Soc. Penna. See also Darlington, *op. cit.* ; Harshberger, *op. cit.* ; *Life of Rev. Manasseh Cutler*, i. 258, 272 ; also Mr. J. Britten's forthcoming work on the Sloane Herbarium. W. Baldwin in 1817 gave the name of *Lantana Bartramii* to a beautiful golden-flowered shrub akin to *Viburnum*, which W. Bartram had found in Florida : it is now known as *Lantana camara*. The genus *Bartramia* of Salisbury, 1796, is now included in *Pentstemon*.

² Thomas Lees' collections (1769 to 1771) proved of little value : William Young also made searches for him, more zealous than discreet : two volumes, containing over 300 of his dried plants and coloured drawings from N. Carolina in 1767, were in Fothergill's library.

and one of the best of the early botanists of America. Like Bartram he made himself a botanic garden, situated at what is now Marshallton, in Pennsylvania, building there in 1773 a house which is still standing ; attached to it was a small stove or hothouse for delicate plants, and a little observatory for the study of astronomy. He offered to collect plants for Fothergill about 1767, and the latter in accepting the proposal gives him some sage counsel. " Whilst I am putting thee upon these services," he writes, " I must desire thee not to give to them so much time, as either to lessen thy attention to the duties of thy station here, or thy regard to the more essential ones of another life. These pursuits are lawful, but may not be to all expedient. Follow the example of wise men," he adds, " seek their company, and then thou wilt become such thyself, and an example to others." Thus began a correspondence which lasted for about eight years, until the war brought it to an end. Marshall sent over by the ships many shrubs, plants and seeds which enriched the garden at Upton. He sent too insects and other specimens of animal life ; of these a snake was seized by the Custom House officers, and a mocking-bird perished in the passage. The birds' skins by Fothergill's direction were to be filled with tow and tobacco dust, or if the skins were large, with salt or pepper. Marshall meanwhile received from his English patron sums of money, some valuable books, a reflecting telescope, and in 1770, through Dr. Franklin, a microscope and a thermometer, the two latter costing £14 : 16 : 6. Fothergill's last letter, dated August 1775, was written in the gathering gloom of war. It bears no signature, and he leaves a hiatus for the king's name. The tone is sad : through " the infatuation of the times," he says, we shall " be rendered a severe scourge to each other. . . . Many lives will be lost, many fine fabrics demolished, the labour of ages ruined." He refers to his own labours for peace, related elsewhere in the present work : " What little lay within my reach to do, I have endeavoured to do it honestly ; but it is all in vain."

Marshall had a long career as a naturalist :

Among his fields or by his ingle-nook
Reading for ever in Nature's open book.

In 1785 we find him supplying Lettsom with two land turtles ; one of them he judged to be fifty years old ; for the farmers, he said, sometimes cut their initials and a date upon the shells of these harmless little creatures, which have been found still active above fifty years afterwards. In the same year Marshall published the *Arbustum Americanum*, an account of the trees and shrubs native to the country, and the first work on botany issued in America : it was poorly received. Marshall was a tall grave man of homely aspect, with strongly marked features, an ample forehead and a voice of deep tone. He was very intelligent, combining study with active habits, and took a close interest in the concerns of the community around him, and especially in West-town School. He died in 1801, aged seventy-nine years.¹

Besides his collectors abroad, Fothergill enjoyed the co-operation of many growers of plants at home. John Ellis and Philip Miller have already been mentioned. James Gordon had a nursery in Essex Road, Mile End, and a seed shop in Fenchurch Street ; Fothergill constantly committed seeds to his care. Gordon introduced some valuable trees into Britain : he was an upright and skilful man, and tended his charges with an understanding born of love. In order to facilitate his collections Fothergill printed " Directions for taking up Plants and Shrubs, and conveying them by Sea." Each young plant was to be carefully dug up, with a large ball of earth around its roots, and placed upon mould and rotten leaves in a

¹ A paper by Marshall in 1786 on Agricultural Botany drew attention to the instinct shown by cattle in their choice or refusal of different herbs, as a subject worthy of study. On Marshall, see Darlington, *op. cit.* ; Harshberger, *op. cit.* ; *Bulletin of the Chester County Historical Soc.*, Penna., Sept. 27, 1913, for which the author thanks Gilbert Cope of West Chester ; Letter, H. Marshall to B. Franklin, 1771, *Amer. Phil. Soc. Calendar*, iii. 43 ; H. A. Kelly, *op. cit.* The genus *Marshallia*, Schreb., nat. order *Compositæ*, was named after his nephew Dr. Moses Marshall. In the *Phil. Trans.* (lxiv. 194) is a paper, introduced by Franklin, of brief observations by Marshall of Spots on the Sun, with pencil sketches.

suitable box, of which drawings were given. The box was to be closed with netting supported by hoops to protect it from cats and dogs, and small bits of glass in the soil were to keep out rats. There was to be a canvas cover to shelter the contents from salt spray, but this was to be removed when the waves were foamless.¹ By all these means Fothergill's garden came to be especially rich in North American plants. He took much pains to give them a soil and climate in which they could thrive.

"Under a north wall," he writes to Marshall in 1772, "I have a good border, made up of that kind of rich black turf-like soil, mixed with some sand, in which I find most of the American plants thrive best. It has a few hours of the morning and evening sun, and is quite sheltered from mid-day heats. It is well supplied with water during the summer; and the little shrubs and herbaceous plants have a good warm covering of dry fern thrown over them when the frosts set in. This is gradually removed when the spring advances, so that as the plants are never frozen in the ground while they are young and tender, I do not lose any that come to me with any degree of life in them; and it is acknowledged by our ablest botanists that there is not a richer bit of ground, in curious American plants, in Great Britain; and for many of the most curious I am obliged to thy diligence and care. My garden is well sheltered; the soil is good, and I endeavour to mend it as occasion requires. I have a little wilderness, which when I bought the premises was full of old yew trees, laurels and weeds. I had it cleared, well dug, and took up many trees, but left others standing for shelter. Among these I have planted *Kalmias*, *Azaleas*, all the *Magnolias*, and most other hardy American shrubs. It is not quite eight years since I made a beginning, so that my plants must be considered but as young ones. They are, however, extremely flourishing. I have an Umbrella tree [*Magnolia tripetala* L.] above twenty feet high, that flowers with me abundantly every spring; but the great *Magnolia* [*grandiflora*] has not yet flowered; it grows exceedingly fast; I shelter his top in the winter; he gains from half a yard to two feet in height every summer, and will ere long I doubt not repay my care with his beauty and fragrance."

A plant which much attracted both Collinson and

¹ A copy of the printed *Directions* is in the MS. *Linnean Correspondence* at the Linnean Society.

Fothergill was a great water-lily, the "Water Chinquapin," *Nelumbium Luteum* Willd., found in the Delaware and other deep waters. It is closely allied to the Sacred Bean or Lotus of Egypt and the east, the *Colocasia* of Pliny, and by this name Fothergill called it. The flower, which is 10 to 12 inches across, of a creamy yellow colour and fragrant, rises 3 or 4 feet above the surface of the water, and waves majestically to and fro. The leaves are circular, peltate and sometimes 2 feet in diameter. No plant in North America excels it in grandeur, simplicity and beauty. Bartram expatiates in his letters on its glories: how the drops of water sprinkled on its leaves by the current run and dance like globules of quicksilver; and how the bull-frogs that roar at night in the forest love to sit on the leaves to air themselves. Careful directions were sent out by Fothergill for packing these plants: the roots were embedded in wet moss, and the whole enclosed in a cask, which came over safely in 1770. Plant her, writes Bartram, apart from others: "she is so coy a lady as not to bear a touch from any other species without fainting." The king was informed of the arrival of the precious cargo, a part of which was sent by Fothergill to the royal garden at Kew, and part he planted in his own little lake at Upton. The roots were covered with loamy earth in a basket, and this was gently let down to the bottom of the water, a depth of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Repeated trials of new plants during several years had only partial success, and it would appear that the "queen of American flowers" was not known to bloom fully in England until a generation after Fothergill had passed away.¹

One of the choicest plants in Fothergill's garden was the tea tree. Tea had only come into common use in England within his lifetime, and its price was still generally over five shillings per pound, a sum equal to much more in our money. Its value as a beverage was then

¹ See letters in Darlington and MS. letters from Fothergill and Bartram in *Bartram MSS.*, and in Brit. Mus. Herbarium. See also *The Botanist*, No. 15, Mar. 1838; Britton and Brown, *Illust. Flora of N. United States*, 1897, ii. 45.

often in dispute : many thought it injurious to health ; others deemed it a fashionable and costly luxury. Jonas Hanway had inveighed against tea in 1757, chiefly on economic grounds : we should ruin ourselves, he declared, by sending so much silver to China to purchase this "flatulent liquor," instead of infusing our own herbs. Tea was in Fothergill's opinion too largely drunk, although he seems to have persuaded John Wesley to resume it, after the latter had denounced its use for twelve years, drinking hot water and sugar instead.¹ The plant and its virtues were the theme of a classical memoir by Lettsom in 1772. Many efforts had been made to bring a live plant to Europe. An East Indian director, Captain Goff, had two fine trees in his garden at Enfield, one of which bore annually a single white flower ; they were seen by Collinson in 1742, but afterwards died. Linnæus had a live but not a flowering plant at Upsala in 1762. A tree was raised from seed in England by John Ellis in 1768, after many efforts : he presented it to the Kew garden. Others were grown after this, one of which at Zion House flowered in October 1771.

It was a cherished desire of Fothergill's to obtain a living tea-plant from China. At length in 1769 some plants arrived for him, and the doctor's good-fortune came to the ears of royalty. The Queen's lady wrote to Dr. W. Hunter : "Mrs Schwellenberg's Compliments to Doctor Hunter and she heard yesterday that Doctr. Forthergyll had got several Tea Trees Come from the Indias in the Last Ships and the Queen wishes that Doctr. Hunter Could make Interest with Doctr. Forthergyll to get Her only one of them for Her Majestys Own Garden."² It was long, however, before the plant could

¹ H[anway], *A Journal, and Essay on Tea* ; W. H. Fitchett, *Wesley and his Century*, p. 493 ; Foth., *Works*, i. 231. In 1775 the consumption of tea in England was 5,648,000 lb. annually, or nearly 1 lb. per head of the population. The increase was but slow until the duty was reduced in the middle of last century. In 1914 about 6½ lb. per head was consumed, at an average price of about 1s. 4d. per lb.

² MS. Letter, Sept. 11, 1769, Hunter-Baillie MSS. i. 118, Roy. Coll. Surg. London. Mrs. Schwellenberg was one of the two elderly *duennas* whom Queen Charlotte had been allowed to bring with her from Mecklenburg-Strelitz : a strict and interfering person, unpopular in England and often caricatured. A. D. Greenwood, *Lives of the Hanoverian Queens of England*.

be made to thrive, and fresh specimens had to be procured from China. At last in the autumn of 1774 a tree, near 5 feet in height, flowered at Upton, and next year it had risen to $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet, the finest tea tree in England; growing on the open ground, carefully sheltered by glass in winter, and covered at night with a mat. The *savants* came to see it, Lettsom bringing his friends to the garden. Following his steadfast aim to introduce useful vegetables into climates similar to their own, Fothergill sent specimens of the Chinese tea-plant from his garden to the southern provinces of America, in like manner as the plant was taken some sixty years later to India and Ceylon. With a similar aim he procured the bamboo cane from China, and the cinnamon tree, and sought to give them a footing in the West Indian Islands; this afterwards came to pass; and but for the hindrance of war he would have done the same for the bread-fruit tree and the mangosteen.¹

The Ginseng, long called *Panax*, now *Aralia quinquefolia*, a plant belonging to the ivy order, has enjoyed an extraordinary reputation in China for many ages, being esteemed a sovereign cure for manifold diseases; it was grown in imperial plantations on the mountainsides of Chinese Tartary. Collinson imported the same plant from Pennsylvania in 1740, and its sweet-scented flower bloomed in his Peckham garden. He induced Bartram to grow the plant, and large quantities were sent from North America for sale in China. Its fame as a remedy had long interested Fothergill: he tried a decoction of the root in medicine, and found it to be aromatic and mucilaginous, helpful in chronic catarrhs and for the aged.²

Among the New World treasures was a large aromatic evergreen shrub, the Starry Anise (*Illicium floridanum*

¹ See *Works*, iii. pp. xl-xlvi; Lettsom, *Natural History of the Tea Tree*, 1772; *Correspondence of Dr. R. Richardson*, 1835; *Corresp. Linnæus*; Darlington, pp. 348, 513; Nichols, *Lit. Anecd.*; J. Ellis, *Description of the Mangostan and Bread-Fruit*, 1775.

² Fothergill introduced an allied species, *Acanthopanax aculeatum* Seem. from China. See *Works*, i. 202; *Med. Trans. Roy. Coll. Phys.* iii. 34; Darlington, p. 127; J. Bigelow, *Amer. Med. Bot.* ii. 82; *Alston MSS.*

Ellis), found in the swamps of Florida, where it forms beautiful thickets. It is allied to the Magnolias, and bears a great star-like flower, the petals wavy and riband-like, deep red in hue, and scented like aniseed. The nodding blossoms are set upon a background of smooth shining foliage. Fothergill made many enquiries for it, and at last in 1773 received living plants from the Bartams, which flowered in his garden, being, as he said with pride, the only such blossom in all Europe. He sent some to Linnæus.¹

The *Arbutus Andrachne*, differing from the common strawberry tree by its longer and shining leaves, had been scarcely known in England, until in 1754 Fothergill's friend Dr. A. Russell sent home seeds gathered on the mountains above Aleppo. This beautiful tree flowered for the first time in England in Fothergill's garden in May 1766, and was the subject of a paper by G. D. Ehret, read before the Royal Society next year. It was long the *chef-d'œuvre* of the Upton garden, and grew to the height of 12 feet ; after Fothergill's death it was sold for the sum of £53 : 11s. to a nurseryman that he might cut it into scions for grafting.²

There is a curious story of Fothergill's attendance on a sea-captain ill with yellow fever in the London docks, when no one would go near to him. Fothergill, it is said, went on board the vessel and cared for him, partly out of compassion, partly to study a new disease. On the man's recovery the doctor would take no fees, but asked him on his next voyage to bring two barrels of earth from Borneo, taken from as many points as possible. When the vessel reached that land the captain's heart failed him, fearing the ridicule of his crew for so foolish an order ; and the same occurred on the return voyage. But after leaving the Straits of Macassar some miles

¹ The *Illicium* was introduced into Britain, according to Aiton, by J. Ellis in 1766 ; elsewhere it is stated as introduced by I. Walker from Pensacola in 1771 (*Bot. Mag.* 439), and that he gave plants to Fothergill. See Darlington, pp. 290, 348 ; MS. Letter, J. Fothergill to Linnæus, Apr. 1774, Linn. Soc. ; also J. Bigelow, *op. cit.* iii. 76.

² *Phil. Trans.* lvii. 114 ; Foth., *Works*, i. 405 ; Loudon, *op. cit.*

behind him, his conscience smote him, and he put the ship's head about, went back and obtained the earth. On his return to England, he sent it to Fothergill, who had a bed of burned mould prepared in his hothouse, and the earth from Borneo spread over it. In due time there came up, so the story concludes, many sorts of new and curious plants, some of which have been introduced into English gardens.¹

Although his garden was a source of much pleasure to Fothergill it became rather burdensome to him in his later years. He could seldom visit it except on Saturdays, owing to the press of his other work. It is told of him by J. H. Tuke that he drove down sometimes after dark, and went round to look at some of his treasures by the light of a lantern. Fifteen men were employed in the garden and houses. Not content with growing the plants, and giving dried specimens to Sir Joseph Banks and others, some of which are still preserved in the British Museum Herbarium, Fothergill employed artists to make drawings on vellum when each plant was in the perfection of bloom. He kept three or four such artists constantly occupied, and the beautiful paintings which he obtained, it is said 2000 in number, were purchased after his death by the Empress Catherine II. of Russia for £2300.²

After Fothergill's death the contents of his garden were all sold, with the frames and glass of the hothouses, and collections of seeds from Siberia, the East Indies and the South Seas. There were large aloes, orange and lemon trees, the tea tree and many others. The hothouses contained a great number of tropical plants: the bulk of these were purchased by Lettsom and taken to Camberwell. Lettsom drew up a list of the hothouse plants, and printed it under the title *Hortus Uptonensis*: it includes no less than sixty-eight species of mesem-

¹ See *Friend*, Phila., li. 221, where the story is quoted from the *New Haven (Conn.) Register*; *Quaker Biographies*, Phila., 1910, iv. 58; also John Bellows, *Letters and Memoir*, 1904, p. 306.

² Tuke, p. 40. The names of Ehret, Taylor, Harris, Miller and Ann Lee are noted as his artists. *Works*, iii. p. liii. A series of coloured drawings of fungi, once possessed by Fothergill, and probably executed for him by J. Bolton, is in the hands of W. S. Fothergill of Redcar.

bryanthemum alone.¹ The house at Upton was at a later date much enlarged, and under the name of Ham House became the hospitable home of Samuel Gurney, who kept up the garden and part of the grounds. His sister Elizabeth Fry lived hard by, in a house which is still standing. Ham House was pulled down in 1872, and its grounds now constitute West Ham Park, an open space of 80 acres, surrounded by the teeming population of this eastern suburb.

The author visited the park on an autumn afternoon. The site of Fothergill's house, afterwards Gurney's, is marked by a large cairn, bearing an inscription; a long series of conservatories once opened from its southern side, and extended to the west. The garden walls are gone, including that on the north, under which Fothergill grew his American plants. There are velvet lawns, old trees and abundant shrubs, with borders of flowers. The winding canal has long been filled up, but its course can still be traced, and there is a picturesque bridge across it. The "wilderness" was to the east of the garden. Here is an ancient cedar which may perhaps date from Fothergill's period. Of other trees the most interesting, and one rare at that time, is a ginkgo, or maidenhair tree of Japan, the gymnosperm *Salisburia adiantifolia* Sm., which was once trained against the front of the house; its trunk, 6 feet in girth at the base, is still flattened on the side. This tree is mentioned by Loudon in 1838: it was then, he says, 33 feet high, and had flowered about the year 1796. There is every reason to believe that this beautiful old tree with its fern-like leaves was of Fothergill's own planting. Near to it is an ancient *Euonymus*, carefully supported and probably of the like period, as is also a weeping ash,—bowed, truncated, but still magnificent even in decrepitude; its huge bole is bent into zigzags. Several old oaks seem to be of the same age or earlier, and this applies

¹ See *Catalogue of Hothouse and Greenhouse Plants, etc., late the property of J. Fothergill, 1781*; three days of sale. Sir J. Banks' copy, the items priced apparently in his hand, is in the British Museum, as is Lettsom's copy of *Hortus Uptonensis* with MS. notes. See also J. Stokes, *Comment.*

to an ancient medlar, a service tree and some yews. A Turkish hazel (*Corylus Colurna* L.), 8 feet in girth, is Fothergill's according to long tradition. Some of the forest trees in the park are also doubtless of Fothergill's time: especially a plane tree of singular size and symmetry, still in its full strength; and a noble *Ailantus*, a tree introduced by Collinson in 1751 from China, where it is called from its stature and beauty the "tree of heaven."

As the writer viewed the scene, the rays of the low sun shone upon the old and dying trees and ivied stumps, and there was sadness in the thought of the final passing away, with these tokens, of the good doctor's garden, where choice products of far continents were once collected. But the sun shone, too, on groups of children at play in the park, upon avenues of young plane trees, and upon flower-beds gay even in the autumn season. Life is renewed from one age to another, and the enterprise of Fothergill and his love of flowers have gone to enrich our knowledge and to build up the heritage we enjoy. His garden has passed to no unworthy use.¹

Dr. Fothergill introduced many new plants into Britain, or cultivated them from seed brought from their native soil.

¹ Fothergill's grounds extended to the Romford Road, along which he made a plantation, and another on the eastern side, adjoining what was then Lady Margaret's field; this consisted of oaks, raised from acorns brought from the mountainous parts of Portugal. His principal entrance seems to have been in this road, between two octagonal lodges. The place was occupied by James Sheppard from 1800 to 1812; then by his son-in-law, Samuel Gurney, till 1856. In 1835 there were many of Fothergill's trees still in the ground, some of them of fine proportions. A list of a few of them is given by Loudon (*Arboretum*, i. 71). S. Gurney also planted much, and the Cockspur Thorn, *Araucaria*, Deodar, tulip tree, *Pinus ponderosa* and *cyrenaica* and others now standing are more probably his than the doctor's. After S. Gurney's death, his grandson, John Gurney of Sprowston Hall, sold the estate at the reduced price of £25,000 for the purposes of a public park, his family contributing £10,000 towards this amount. The needful funds were raised after prolonged efforts, the Corporation of London generously supplying £10,000, and the park was opened to the public in 1874. The author is indebted to the late Dr. G. Pagenstecher of West Ham, deservedly regarded as the "Father" of the park, for his kind offices and much information, derived from memories of sixty years; as well as to Mr. Russell the present Superintendent. See Foth., *Works*, iii.; Katherine Fry, *History of East & West Ham*, p. 233; Dr. Pagenstecher, *Story of West Ham Park*, 2nd ed., 1908.

Most of them were herbaceous, but a few trees and shrubs are included. The names of about one hundred are on record, and will be found in a list at the end of this chapter. A large number came from North America, some from the West Indies, others from China, and not a few from the Cape of Good Hope. Central Europe furnished to Pitcairn and Fothergill's joint efforts many dainty little Alpine flowers, some of which, like the *Hutchinsia*, *Mœhringia*, alpine *Trifolium* with its narrow pointed leaves, an *Antennaria*, the sky-blue *Gentiana bavarica* and others, are common to-day in our rock gardens. "Fothergill's Geranium" (*Pelargonium Fothergillii*) is said to have been one of the earliest races of the zone-leaved Cape geranium.¹ Some of the most admired varieties of *Clematis* are derived from *C. florida*, which Fothergill imported from Japan. The rosy *Plumbago*, the Alleghany vine (*Adlumia*), and a rose mallow (*Hibiscus*), are other frequent garden flowers for which we are indebted to him ; as also for the caricature plant (*Graptophyllum*), a tropical shrub with quaintly marked leaves. Several orchids are in the list, especially Lady Tankerville's *Bletia* (*Phaius grandifolius*), a noble evergreen, with long spikes of great chestnut and white flowers, and leaves a yard long ; Fothergill had the plant from China and sent it, Loudon says, to his niece Mrs. Hird at Apperly Bridge near Bradford, where it flowered for the first time in England. It was looked upon as the finest orchid in cultivation ; but a still grander species, *Phaius Wallichii*, was afterwards brought from India. Fothergill's plant was called no doubt after the young wife of his friend the 4th Earl of Tankerville, already mentioned as sharing in one of his botanical enterprises. Of the lily tribe, *Nerine curvifolia* is known as Fothergill's lily : it bears an umbel of glittering scarlet flowers. The golden amaryllis (*Lycoris*) is also well known. Amongst trees, besides a poplar (*heterophyllum*), the Chinese apple-tree (*Pyrus spectabilis*) has been a notable gain,—in its mantle of spring blossoms, the most beautiful of its genus. Fothergill brought in, too, the handsome Balearic Box ; one of the finest specimens in the country is a tree near the temple of the sun at Kew, which was 13 feet in height, as recorded by Loudon, in 1835 : it may perhaps have been sent to the royal garden by Fothergill himself.

The part which Fothergill took in discovering and bringing

¹ A fine figure of *Pelargonium Fothergillii* is given in the immense work of Kerner, *Hortus Sempervirens*, 1795, vii. Tab. 469. The name seems to be no longer used.

to Europe the plants of other continents was of course well known to Linnæus, though their direct intercourse was but slight. Fothergill sent to the great naturalist in 1758 a case of medical remedies received from a Chinese seaport town ("Limpum," perhaps Linpao) which stimulated his curiosity. About 1774, Linnæus gave the name of *Fothergilla* to a genus of hardy deciduous shrubs with scented flowers which Fothergill had obtained from the southern provinces of America; it is closely allied to *Hamamelis* the witch-hazel. The species are often found in our gardens. Fothergill thus acknowledges the compliment: "I tender my thanks that thou hast chosen to number me also among the Lovers of Plants. But I blush, when I consider my short and slender pursuit of the science. Thy kindness however will always have from me the honour it deserves, with a grateful record of thy act. I have ordered the plant in question to be sent to thee as soon as possible."¹

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XIV

LIST OF PLANTS INTRODUCED BY DR. JOHN FOTHERGILL

P Introduced jointly with Dr. W. Pitcairn in 1775, from the Alps of Central Europe, or from Southern Europe.

* Still in cultivation in the British Islands.

* *Clematis florida* Thunb. Circa 1776. Japan. "Virgin's Bower." The parent of a popular race of garden varieties of clematis.

* *Thalictrum rugosum* Ait. 1774. North America.
Knowltonia rigida Salisb. (*Adonis*.) Before 1780. Cape of Good Hope.

*P *Ranunculus glacialis* L. High Swiss Alps, near the snow.
Rare in gardens.

¹ The naming is thus recorded by Linnæus *filis* in his *Supplementum Plantarum*, 1781, p. 43. "In memoriam Jo. Fothergill, Angli, medici & indagatoris Historiæ naturalis inclitissimi, cui plurima in Botanicis & Zoologicis debuit b.m. [beatus meus] parens & ego." Hence the official reference for the name is to Linnæus *filis*, although Linnæus *père* named the genus, and the specimen in his Herbarium at the Linnean Society is marked *Fothergilla* in Linnæus' own handwriting. A specimen of *F. Gardeni* from Fothergill's garden, and with the name in the latter's hand, is in the British Museum Herbarium. See also Murray's edition of the *Systema Vegetab.*, 1774, p. 418; *Bot. Mag.* 1341, 1342; MS. Letters from Fothergill to Linnæus, 1758 and 1774, Linnean Society. These are written in Latin, Fothergill excusing himself by want of time and practice for its halting construction. *Miconia Fothergilla* Naud. is a myrtle-like stove plant from Mexico.

- * *Ranunculus lusitanicus* Lam. (*R. bullatus*, Colmeiro, *Flora of Spain and Portugal*.) 1780. Austria or Switzerland.
- *P — *montanus* Willd.
- * *Adlumia cirrhosa* Rafin. (*Corydalis*.) Circa 1778. North America. "Alleghany Vine." A delicate climber, with maidenhair leaves. Darlington, p. 475.
- *P *Cochlearia saxatilis* L.
- *P *Hutchinsia alpina* R. Br. Rock-garden plant.
Helianthemum canadense Michx. Before 1780. Canada (?). North America.
- * *Viola sagittata* Ait. 1775. Pennsylvania.
- *P *Polygala amara* L.
- * *Mundtia spinosa* DC. Before 1780. Cape of Good Hope. "Prickly Milkwort." Roy. Bot. Gard. Edin.
- * *Lychnis grandiflora* Jacq. 1774. China. A fine scarlet flower.
- *P *Arenaria muscosa* Med. (*Mæhringia*.) Dwarf rock-garden plant.
- * *Hibiscus coccineus* Walt. 1778. South Carolina. A Rose Mallow, with splendid scarlet flowers.
- *P *Geranium phœum* L., var. *lividum* L'Hérit.
- *P — *rivulare* Vill.
- *P *Cytisus procumbens* Spreng. On rockeries.
- *P *Trifolium alpinum* L. A stout trefoil with large pink flowers.
Rhynchosia reticulata DC. 1779. Jamaica.
- * *Cassia hirsuta* L. 1778. America.
Piptadenia peregrina Benth. Before 1780. South America. "White-flowered American Acacia."
- *P *Geum reptans* L. Bright yellow flower.
Acæna lucida Vahl. 1777. Falkland Islands. A dwarf shrub.
- * *Pyrus spectabilis* Ait. 1780. China. "Chinese apple-tree." A popular spring-flowering crab, with large pale red flowers.
- * *Ribes prostratum* L'Hérit. 1777. North America. "Mountain Currant." A prostrate shrub, very distinct.
- *P *Epilobium Dodonæi* Vill. A willow-herb.
- * *Ludwigia palustris* Ell. (*Isnardia*.) 1776. North America (?).
- * *Oenothera biennis* L., var. *grandiflora* or *Lamarckiana*. 1778. North America. A large-flowered Evening Primrose.
- *P *Bupleurum stellatum* L. "Starry Hare's Ear."
- *P *Ligusticum Mutellina* Crantz.
- *P — *simplex* All.
- * *Mesembryanthemum croceum* Jacq. Before 1780. Cape of Good Hope.
— *gibbosum* Haw. Before 1780. Cape of Good Hope.
- * *Acanthopanax aculeatum* Seem. 1773. China. "Prickly Panax." Growing in La Mortola garden, 1912.

- * *Cornus canadensis* L. 1774. Canada. "Dwarf Cornel or Bunch-berry." Pretty little herb with underground creeping stem. Bog garden.
- * *Galium pilosum* Ait. 1778. North America.
- *P — *rubroides* L. Roy. Bot. Gard. Glasnevin, Dublin.
- *P *Antennaria alpina* Gærtn. A neat little carpeting plant.
- Helichrysum cylindricum* D. Don. Before 1780. Cape of Good Hope. "Everlasting."
- Pulicaria sicula* Moris. 1779. Sicily.
- * *Coreopsis angustifolia* Ait. 1778. North America.
- *P *Achillea moschata* Jacq. Swiss "Wildfräuleinkraut."
- Matricaria multiflora* Fenzl. Before 1780. Cape of Good Hope.
- * *Petasites palmatus* A. Gray. 1777. Newfoundland (?) A hardy woolly Colt's-foot.
- *P *Senecio nemorensis* L.
- * *Cullumia setosa* R. Br. Before 1780. Cape of Good Hope. Roy. Bot. Gard. Edin.
- P *Cnicus rigens* Willd.
- *P *Crepis montana* Reichb. An Alpine Hawk's-beard.
- *P *Campanula cenisia* L. Mont Cenis. A rare little high-alpine gem, difficult to grow.
- *P — *rhomboidea* Murr.
- * *Plumbago rosea* L. 1777. East Indies. A stove perennial, with large rosy scarlet flowers.
- *P *Androsace alpina* Lam.
- *P — *bryioides* DC. (*Aretia helvetica*.) Small rock-plants, with evergreen leaves in dense rosettes, forming a cushion.
- * *Symplocos tinctoria* L'Hérit. Before 1780. Carolina. "Horse-sugar or Sweet-leaf"; the leaves greedily eaten by cattle; also used for dyeing yellow. A tender tree with clusters of sweet yellow flowers. Vilmaria, *Cat.*, 1904.
- Asclepias perennis* Walt. 1774. North America.
- *P *Gentiana bavarica* L. A lovely alpine plant, with deep blue flowers, rising from tufts of tiny leaves. In boggy spots.
- *P — *punctata* L.
- * *Calceolaria Fothergillii* Ait. 1777. Falkland Islands. A delicate and beautiful Slipperwort.
- * *Pentstemon lævigatus* Ait. 1776. North America.
- * *Mazus rugosus* Lour. Before 1780. China. A hardy tufted annual, in the rock garden.
- Digitalis erubescens* Ait. X (hybrid). 1776. Italy.
- *P *Veronica aphylla* L. Dwarf plant, for rock garden.
- *P *Veronica bellidioides* L. See Correvon, *Plantes des Montagnes*. Roy. Bot. Gard. Glasnevin, Dublin.
- * — *elliptica* Forst. (*decussata*.) 1776. Falkland Islands and Chili. A half-hardy shrub, with white flowers and dense growth.

P *Pedicularis comosa* L. Flower cream-coloured.

P — *flammea* L. Flower pale red.

- * *Graptophyllum hortense* Nees. (*Justicia*.) Before 1780. East Indies. "Caricature Plant." An ornamental stove evergreen shrub, with whorled crimson flowers, and variegated (marked) leaves. Much cultivated in the tropics. *Bot. Mag.* 1780. Kew.
- * *Hyptis suaveolens* Poit. 1778. West Indies. Roy. Bot. Gard. Edin.
Collinsonia scabriuscula Ait. 1776. East Florida (J. Bartram). A scented labiate herb, with yellowish flower.
- * *Salvia nilotica* Murr. Before 1780. Egypt (?). Abyssinia and Eritrea.
- * *Rheum hybridum* Murr. 1778. Northern Asia. "Bastard Rhubarb." Roy. Bot. Gard. Edin.
Aristolochia indica L. Before 1780. East Indies. One of the climbing Birthworts, an evergreen shrub with purple flowers.
- * *Peperomia polystachya* Hook. (*Piper*.) 1775. Jamaica. A fleshy herb, with minute flowers. Roy. Bot. Gard. Edin.
- * *Buxus balearica* Lam. Before 1780. Balearic Isles. "Minorca Box-tree," a handsome evergreen.
- P *Salix repens* L., var. *incubacea*.
- * *Populus heterophyllum* L. 1765. North America. A remarkable Poplar, or "Cotton Tree," with large leaves, woolly beneath: grows to 60 feet: rare in England.
- * *Phaius grandifolius* Lour. (*Bletia*.) About 1778. China. "Lady Tankerville's Orchid." *Bot. Mag.* 1924.
- * *Epidendrum conopseum* R. Br. 1775. Florida (W. Bartram). A delicate orchid, parasitic on magnolia and oak: flowers yellowish, tinged with purple. *Bot. Mag.* 3457.
- * *Cymbidium ensifolium* Sw. Before 1780. China. A fragrant stove orchid, with tall racemes of pale green flowers striped with purple. *Bot. Mag.* 1751.
Habenaria herbiola R. Br. Before 1780. North America.
- * *Ixia maculata* L. Before 1780. Cape of Good Hope. A fine greenhouse bulb with spotted orange flowers.
- * *Gethyllis spiralis* L. 1780. Cape. Dwarf bulbous with fragrant white flowers. Roy. Bot. Gard. Edin.
- * *Lycoris aurea* Herb. App. 1777. China. "Golden Amaryllis."
- * *Nerine curvifolia* Herb. l.c. 1777. Cape. (Japan ?) (*Amaryllis Fothergillii*), "Fothergill's Lily." *Bot. Mag.* 725.
- * *Albuca viscosa* L. Circa 1779. Cape. A greenhouse lily.
Aneilema nudiflorum R. Br. (*Tradescantia*.) 1776. East Indies (common). "Grass-leaved Spiderwort." No record of recent cultivation.
- * *Callisia repens* L. 1776. West Indies. Roy. Bot. Gard. Edin.

- * *Orontium aquaticum* L. 1775. North America. "Golden Club." Common hardy aquatic; bears a long narrow spadix of dense odorous flowers.
- * *Pinellia tuberifera* Tenore. (*Arum*.) 1774. Japan. Hardy.
- * *Paspalum distichum* L. 1776. Jamaica (?). Southern States of North America. A pampas grass, on wet ground.
- *P *Festuca spadicea* L. A graceful Fescue-grass.
- * *Adiantum villosum* L. 1775. Jamaica. "Hairy-stalked Maidenhair."
- * *Asplenium platyneuron* L. 1779. North America. "Ebony Spleenwort." A beautiful fern.
- * *Woodwardia virginica* L. 1774. North America. A decorative greenhouse fern with broad arching fronds.

The above list has been compiled from Aiton's *Hortus Kewensis*, with information obtained from other works. Most of the starred plants are grown at the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew. The author would here record his indebtedness to botanical friends for valuable references and corrections, by which he trusts that his errors have been minimised. He asks to be allowed to mention in particular Dr. B. Daydon Jackson, General Secretary of the Linnean Society, whose ungrudging aid has always been readily given; and Professor I. Bayley Balfour, F.R.S., of the Royal Botanic Garden, Edinburgh. Sir F. W. Moore of the Royal Botanic Garden, Glasnevin, Ireland, and Edmund Gilbert Baker, of the British Museum Herbarium, have also rendered kind assistance.

CHAPTER XV

FOTHERGILL'S OTHER SCIENTIFIC INTERESTS

Whoever seeketh knowledge and findeth it, will get two rewards : one of them the reward for desiring it, and the other for attaining it ; therefore even if he do not attain it, for him is one reward.—MOHAMMED.

La science impose la foi dans l'unité de la raison.—ROMAIN ROLLAND.

It was customary in the Royal Society in Fothergill's time to commit books or reports that were newly published to young and able men who had some leisure, for the purpose of drawing up an abstract or criticism, to be read at one of the meetings. These abstracts were short and concise, as were all the papers then published by the society. In this way Fothergill in his younger life contributed several papers, very probably at the instance of his friend Collinson. Some of these on medical topics have already been noticed.

An essay on the Origin of *Amber* was one of his first papers. It was based on the researches of Wigand and others, and was read in abstract before the Society in 1744. Amber or electron, from which electricity takes its name, had always been looked on as a mysterious substance, and science had hardly yet shown a truer origin for it than the ancient fable that it consisted of the tears of the sisters of Phaethon. Fothergill discusses three hypotheses : that it is a marine production ; or a bituminous body as Sendelius thought ; or a vegetable resin, derived from some kind of fir or pine, and changed in the course of ages by the action of an acid. He argues cogently for the last of these theories, and further knowledge since his time has confirmed the justice of this view. He thinks it may be possible to make an imitation by chemical means : this also has been a true anticipation. He has no belief in

the reputation so long held of the medicinal virtues of amber.¹

In 1748 Fothergill submitted to the Royal Society an Account of Observations and Experiments made in *Siberia*. He had drawn this up originally for his own use, from the preface to Gmelin's report of the exploration of that country during the years 1733 to 1742. Siberia was then little known : it had been conquered by the Cossacks in the preceding century ; and the Russian professor's description of its vast extent, its great rivers and lakes, its high plains and fruitful valleys, its plants and minerals, was new to the world. The reviewer dwells in some detail upon the altitude of different parts above sea-level, and upon the extreme cold : at Yakutsk it was found that the earth was thawed to a depth of only about 4 feet in the height of summer.²

Fothergill became too busy in other ways to continue such records, but although he could not follow out all the pursuits that his soul loved, he still took his pastime in the study of science. He early interested himself in fossils and other minerals ; he sought for them on the seashore or among the hills, and stirred up his friends also to gather them ; so that in course of time he acquired many rare specimens.

About 1762 he bought at auction a series of the papers of Dr. Martin Lister, a pioneer in more than one natural science, and author, with his daughters, of the first scientific work on Shells.³ The papers had been thrown aside for

¹ *Phil. Trans.* xliii. 21 ; *Works*, i. 251 ; Letter in *MSS. Alston*. Another letter of Fothergill's dated 1746, in the author's possession, gives an account of Jet, and its distinction from amber, and from cannel-coal. He had observed veins of jet in the strata of the cliffs near Scarborough, and, as these dipped under the sea, the casting up of pieces of jet by the waves was, he thought, readily explained. Thomas Story, too, found leisure from his diligent ministerial labours to meditate on the Scarborough cliffs to some purpose. The earth, he believed, was of a much older date than that assigned to it in the holy scriptures *as commonly understood*. He had, too, a hypothesis, which he discussed with Fothergill, that all inert matter was, in its origin, animated, consisting of innumerable animalculæ. Letter to James Logan, 1738 ; see W. Armistead, *Mem. J. Logan*, 1851, p. 156.

² *Phil. Trans.* xlv. 248 ; *Works*, i. 317. *MSS.* from Fothergill's papers, on Iceland (by Banks and Solander) and on Forest Trees in Etna (by Captain Bryden), are in Fds. Ref. Lib.

³ Martin Lister, M.D., F.R.S. (died 1712), was a physician at York and later in London, and was the author of *Historia Conchyliorum*, etc. The orchid *Listera* was named after him. A copy of his *Exercitatio Anatomica de Cochleis Terrestribus* was found after Fothergill's death annotated and enlarged by him in readiness for a further impression. *Lond. Med. Journ.* iv. 189 n.

waste until Fothergill rescued them. To these he added the letters of the learned Edward Lhuyd, which he took over from Da Costa as payment for a large debt.¹ He hoped to have used these stores himself, but as his time was too much occupied with other things he presented the manuscripts in 1769 to the University of Oxford, where they are preserved in the Bodleian Library.

In writing to W. Huddesford, Fothergill enlarges upon the bright example set by Lister and Lhuyd: "the greatest men of the past century derive their credit from that firmest of all foundations, *virtue*. In this term," he continues, "I include piety, benevolence and industry." He goes on to urge that the scholars at Oxford should bring out a fresh edition of Lister's great work on Conchology, comparing the plates with specimens from all sources; towards this he offers his own aid. In another letter he uses his position of privilege as a donor to propose a larger undertaking—a "Review of the rise and progress of Natural History in Great Britain, from the Revival of Letters to the middle of the present century, with some account of the lives and characters of the principal promoters of natural knowledge." Could not Oxford men be found well qualified, one to take the fossil, one the botanical part, etc.? He adds some plain words on the state of the university (which was little better than Gibbon had found it in 1752-1753): men of the first rank of understanding seemed to be absorbed in the mere round of eating, drinking and sleeping. Huddesford, who as Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum had studied its contents well, seems to have responded to Fothergill's stimulating suggestions: at any rate he indexed the Lister manuscripts; he brought out in the next year a very fine edition of Lister's work, and he compiled also some lives of British naturalists and scholars before an early death cut short his own labours: against him no want of industry can be charged.²

¹ Edward Lhuyd (born 1660, died 1709), Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, was a scholar and naturalist of no little eminence: poor, modest and laborious, he helped to advance the science of his day in several departments, and was one of the earliest of Celtic philologists. His catalogue of fossils, *Lithophylacii Britannici*, etc., is well known. See *Some Incidents in the Life of Edward Lhuyd*, by Richard Ellis, B.A., of Aberystwyth, who is also engaged on the preparation of Lhuyd's Life and Letters; also *Corresp. R. Richardson*, pp. 12, 111.

² See MS. Letters from Fothergill to Huddesford, *Ashmole MSS.*, No. 1822, Bodleian Library; *Register of Convocation*, Univ. Oxford, April 14, 1769; Nichols, *Illust.* iv. 458 ff., and *Lit. Anecd.* viii. 600, ix. 740.

The seafaring friends of Fothergill brought him corals from the Southern Ocean, and as they were well rewarded, more and yet more of these wonderful structures reached his house, until his collection was thought to be the foremost in Europe. It is said that Ellis used its stores when he worked out the problem of the animal formation of corals, and delineated his well-known system. Fothergill gave generously of his specimens to others; in sending corals to Dr. Demainbray he tells him how to clean and mount them. "Some are reserved," he adds, "for Dr. Hunter's museum when it is ready to receive them. At present they may lie where they are, as safely as amidst a thousand hobgoblins, nightly searching for their scattered remains."¹

Fothergill had a wonderful table of *pietra dura* work, panel-shaped with curved sides. Upon a bed of block slate are set oval sections of flints, connected by flint bands, so as to form a square reticulated pattern, the interstices being filled with pudding stone. A border is formed by squares of marble of different colours: at the sides the squares are bisected by a zigzag band of pale yellowish marble streaked with quartz: at the top and bottom the squares are set diagonally. The polish, especially of the flinty centre panel, is of a very high degree, so as to give translucency to the stones, in all their soft and varied colouring.²

If he discovered little of the secrets hidden in stones, Fothergill worked to much purpose in the science of

¹ MS. Letter, Fothergill to W. Hunter, about 1769, *Hunter-Baillie MSS.* Ellis writes to Linnæus in 1766 of a fine specimen of the *Isis Hippuris*, sent by Fothergill, with the natural fleshy covering full of holes, whence the eight-rayed polype-like suckers had protruded. (? *Pentacrinus Caput Medusæ*.) *Corresp. Linn.* ii. 526. See also Foth., *Works*, iii. p. liii.

² The marble table, in excellent preservation, is now in the possession of John Hodgkin, F.L.S., having come through the hands of Alice Chorley, John Eliot, John Hodgkin (sen.) and John Eliot Hodgkin, F.S.A. Fothergill purchased of Da Costa in 1762 for £4 : 14s. "a marble table from Bohemia": this may be the same, but the price seems small. MS. Add. Brit. Mus. His table must have been well known to his friends. Lettsom in one of his letters to Cuming pleasantly describes an odd dream, in which he visited Elysium, and saw Fothergill with one hand grasping that of George Fox and with the other Mr. Penn's, whilst "on a table of inlaid marble" before them lay a scroll of "Regulations for promoting Pennsylvaniaian happiness, with directions for the education of the youth." *Mem. Lettsom*, i. *Corresp.* 47.

conchology. He admired the beauty of shells and their variety, and his large acquaintance with travellers gave him opportunities of constantly adding to those which he had found himself. By the aid of every book he could discover and of his own ingenuity he arranged his shells in classes, according to their structure, and his cabinet came to be, next to the Duchess of Portland's, the best in England. His shells and corals were offered after his death by Fothergill's desire to his friend Dr. William Hunter for a sum £500 less than the valuation; and they now form part of the Hunterian Museum in Glasgow.

In following these pursuits, Fothergill often met that wayward Hebrew genius, Mendez Da Costa, whose scientific enthusiasm atoned for some less honourable traits of character. Collinson received a letter from Da Costa in 1747 dated from the bottom of a coal-pit, 135 feet deep, at Swanwich in Cheshire, where he was hunting for fossils. His friend rallied him on his exploit, and pictured him revisiting the regions of light full of the vapours of nitre and sulphur: there would ensue a terrible explosion: "Out bursts a new hypothesis, the theory of the earth shakes, and down tumble poor Woodward, Wilkins, Derham, Burnet and all." "Thou art the archest wag alive," writes Collinson another day, when Da Costa had cajoled an old Don to part with his fossils and a *hortus siccus*. He brought many fossils and minerals for Fothergill to purchase, as well as books from abroad. Always short of money, Da Costa borrowed habitually from his patron, and was ever importuning him to spend on some fine new specimen. Debt, dishonesty and prisons at length marred the poor man's career; but these did not hinder Fothergill from still befriending him, for he would sometimes employ those whose conduct he disapproved, that they might not again be driven by distress to evil ways. Fothergill patronised his lectures, helped him to bring out his works on conchology, — advising him, contributing facts and many of the notes, lending him specimens and books,

reading his proofs, and, most essential of all, advancing him some of the needed funds. Da Costa was very grateful, and science profited.¹

Specimens, too, from other departments of the animal kingdom found their way to the house in Harpur Street. In 1765 part of the skin of the Argus or "Chinese Pheasant" was sent him from Canton; its great wings and tail, which it is wont to display peacock-wise, shot with marvellous colour and embroidery.² Was it wholly strange that the plain Quaker should unconsciously delight in the gorgeous hues of orchid and tropical fowl, and in the brilliancy of his mosaic table and his corals?

He had, too, a cabinet of insects; on these he corresponded with Seymer: it contained many specimens from America. In order to investigate the natural history and products of Spain and the West Coast of Africa, Henry Smeathman was engaged in 1771 by Fothergill, acting in co-operation with Drury, Banks and Marmaduke Tunstall, to spend three years in those countries. Armed with Fothergill's instructions, Smeathman was enabled to survive the malignant fevers and fluxes of the Sierra Leone coast, although his companion in travel died. Large numbers of new plants were sent home by him to Banks—a beautiful passion-flower is named *Smeathmannia*—and many remarkable insects came to Fothergill. Smeathman's chief work was to write the first detailed account of the Termites or so-called white ants of Guinea, their habits, buildings and mode of propagation. It was a "traveller's tale" of no little wonder, for the ants dwelt in cities with towers; but the Royal Society gave it due hearing, and its truth has been established. The explorer allied himself by marriage with the native chiefs, and afterwards wandered to the West Indies, staying out long years

¹ The price paid for Fothergill's shells, etc., is variously stated at £1200 or £1500. *Works*, iii. pp. lii, liii; S. F. Simmons, *Life of W. Hunter*; many MS. Letters from Da Costa to Fothergill, Brit. Mus. MSS.; Nichols, *Lit. Anecd.* ix. 816; *Gent. Mag.*, 1781, 165; *Phil. Trans.* xlv-lvi.

² Now known as *Argus giganteus* of Temminck. *Phil. Trans.* lv. 88.

beyond the time appointed ; but his patron showed him much patience and liberality.¹

The production of silk was shown in a series of Chinese drawings in Fothergill's possession, displaying the process of raising it from the beginning to the end. In conjunction with Franklin, Fothergill promoted a Silk Company in Pennsylvania : two crops were obtained in each year. Some trunks containing the produce were sent over in 1772, and much approved : samples were set aside for presentation to the queen and to the proprietary ladies of the province.²

Fothergill's interest in Franklin's discoveries in static electricity has already received some notice. Dr. Gowin Knight, Librarian to the British Museum, and Copley medallist in 1747, had devoted much attention to magnetism, and had greatly improved the faulty mariner's compass which was in use. He constructed a large and powerful "magnetical machine," the steel bars of which were highly magnetised by a new method, and he was able by its means to magnetise artificial loadstones which he composed of particles of iron and linseed oil. Knight received much kindness and help from Fothergill, and

¹ A copy of Smeathman's paper on the Termites, inscribed in his hand to Lettsom, is in the British Museum : at the end is a printed letter, in which he offers to teach elocution and polite literature in London ; also a prospectus in French of a large work on his travels in Africa and America to be brought out by subscription—doubtless never published. In 1783 he was in Paris, his affairs being involved, and was occupied on the prevailing subject of balloons. He projected an aerostatic machine, and saw clearly that it must be heavier than air in order to obtain due control. He showed it to Franklin, who approved the principle. The Medical Society of London elected him a Corresponding Member in 1784. In 1786 Smeathman had another scheme, for forming a settlement of Poor Blacks near Sierra Leone, in which he was supported by Jonas Hanway, Samuel Hoare and others, with a promise of assistance from the Commissioners of the Treasury. But he died before the party could set out ; another leader, Irvine, was found, with surgeons, chaplain and others, Lettsom interesting himself in the venture. About 500 free negroes of both sexes, besides whites, set sail, but the expedition was doomed to failure from the outset : they quarrelled and fought on the passage : sickness played havoc among them : the leaders died, and soon most of the party perished in the tract of land they had purchased from "King Tom." The white ants ate up the seeds and stores. See *Phil. Trans.* lxxi. 139 ; Smeathman, *History of the Termites*, 1781 ; and *Plan of a Settlement near Sierra Leone*, etc., 1786 ; *Corresp. Linn.* i. 66 ; *Foth., Works*, iii. p. liii, 183 ff. ; and MS. Letters to W. Logan, 1741, 1745 ; *Mem. Lettsom*, i. *Corresp.* 119, 132 ; Nichols, *Illust.* v. 757, viii. 201 ; *The Cumberland Letters*, 1771-1784, pp. 315, 321 ; *Amer. Phil. Soc. Franklin Calendar*, xxix. 64.

² Letter, Franklin to Cadwallader Evans. Smyth, *Franklin*, v. 388.

at his death left him his executor. Fothergill presented the magnetic machine to the Royal Society, with a paper descriptive of it, which was read in 1776. The apparatus is still in existence, although it has lost much of its strength: it was used by Faraday in 1831 for his researches on induction currents.¹

In departments of knowledge which he himself had no time to cultivate, Fothergill had the insight to perceive where advance was being made, and the ready will to help it forward. His friend Joseph Priestley, whose liberal views in theology and politics, as well as in science, made him famous but kept him poor, was carrying out those experiments which revealed the secret of the atmosphere. Fothergill proposed to find him £100 every year to enable him to continue and enlarge them. Priestley declined so large a sum, but accepted £40, which his friend regularly sent him, having induced that upright and generous whig statesman Sir George Savile, and two others, to join him in providing it. After some years, when Lord Shelburne's bounty to Priestley was reduced, Fothergill arranged that he should receive a much larger annual subsidy, Drs. Watson (father and son), Josiah Wedgwood and several others, taking, to their honour, a share in this duty; not to mention Dr. Heberden and the generous Mrs. Rayner. "Without this assistance," Priestley wrote to Franklin, "I must have desisted altogether." Fothergill continued the aid until his death, when Samuel Galton took his place. Such were Fothergill's benefits, hidden from the public eye, so that of many of them no record has come down to us.²

¹ The Magnetic Machine is now in the Science Museum, South Kensington. See *Phil. Trans.* lxxvi. 591; *MS. Letters and Papers*, Dec. vi. 64, Roy. Soc.; *Foth., Works*, i. 411; and information kindly furnished by the late Prof. Silvanus P. Thompson.

² *Memoirs of Dr. J. Priestley by himself*, ed. 1904, p. 58; Letter, Priestley to Franklin, 1779, in Sparks, *Franklin*, vi. 423; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* When ill in 1780 Priestley was attended by Fothergill, Webb, Heberden and Pringle. Ford, *List of Franklin Papers*, No. 593. Fothergill essayed in 1744 to make some analysis of the moisture contained in the atmosphere. Later he gave some thought to Rain, noting that the raindrops increased in size and velocity as they fell, and surmising that they attracted the moisture of the air through which they passed. It is now known, however, that rain often passes through

Fothergill had a strong belief in the use of pictures. Of views and portraits he had many. He purchased for eighty guineas the noble collection of John Nickolls, F.R.S., the young Hertford Quaker, and the "first regular collector of English Heads." These portraits were bound in ten large volumes and formed the original of Ames' Catalogue.¹ Not content with acquiring the pictures of others, Fothergill employed artists, as already mentioned, to draw for himself, and by this means objects of nature, too large or too perishable for his museum, were preserved in their beauty of form and colour.

Reviewing Fothergill's scientific interests, one cannot but note his pure delight from his boyhood in all living things. It was a saying of Mohammed that if a man finds himself with bread in both hands, he should exchange one loaf for some flowers of the narcissus, since the bread feeds the body, but the flowers feed the soul. Fothergill had an eye for the beautiful in nature if not in art. He loved the coral and the shell, bright with the hues of tropic sunshine, and the insect perfected in all its parts so that it may live its day of life. Not less he prized the age-long record of fin or fern written in fossil stone. But most of all he loved the plants of the vegetable world: sowing the seed, that he might watch the upspringing of the young green shoot, the beauty of its developed form, and all the glory of flower and fruit. And so he made the climes of many lands to blossom under his eye; the

a drier stratum of air near the earth, and that the drops increase by amalgamation between those of equal size. *Works*, iii. xxxiii, 149; and information kindly furnished by R. Corless, M.A. Fothergill also contrived a method of generating and preserving ice in the West Indies. Nichols, *Lit. Anecd.* ix. 737; *Genl. Mag.*, 1781, 165.

¹ They were sold later for 200 guineas to Mr. Thane. Nichols, *op. cit.* ix. 740. Nickolls also possessed and published Milton's collection of Letters addressed by Ireton, Vane and others to Cromwell, which he had derived from Ellwood through J. Wyeth: the originals are now in the library of the Society of Antiquaries. Foth., *Works*, iii. p. liv note. A series of prints and drawings, once in Fothergill's possession, was sold at Sotheby's, Aug. 1913, having been used with others by R. M. T. Chiswell, to extra-illustrate Pennant's *Tour in Wales*, extending this work to eleven volumes. They were bought for New York at the price of £350. The late eminent Sir Jonathan Hutchinson set a like high value on pictorial means: it would not be difficult to trace in his career other parallels with that of Fothergill. The writer had Sir J. Hutchinson's encouragement in commencing the present work; it can now only be linked with his memory.

forests and rivers of the new world to yield their treasures to the old ; and he brought into the gardens of England the wonderful flowers of the islands of the sea. Such were the pastimes of Fothergill : they kept him at home with nature and ministered to that singleness of spirit which was his crown.

CHAPTER XVI

FOTHERGILL AS PHILANTHROPIST AND SOCIAL REFORMER

He who sees without loving is only straining his eyes in the darkness.
—MAETERLINCK.

Ideas have hands and feet.—HEGEL.

His mind was of that open, candid and enlarged class, which surveys all the families of the earth and all orders of men with a liberal and comprehensive view, as the children of one common Parent and equally under the care of his Providence ; and he was instant at all times to support what was truly good and virtuous in them, under all forms, denominations and distinctions whatsoever.—Dr. W. HIRD on Dr. J. Fothergill, 1781.

All questions of social and moral reform find lodgement first with enlightened souls who stamp them with their approval. In God's own time they will be organized into law and thus woven into the fabric of our institutions.—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

It is chiefly as a philanthropist that Fothergill is now remembered. Modern philanthropy may be called a product of his century, for it came into vogue shortly after his time, and was stimulated by his example. The abysmal separation between classes, and the selfish tone of religion, had kept men's sympathies narrowed, but this gave way at last : traces of a coming insight into the worth and dignity of " the poor " may be noted in Gray's *Elegy*, published in 1751. Some of the new philanthropy took an enthusiastic form—the pursuit of airy projects, leading rather to the neglect of ordinary duties ; much talk of universal good, but little heed to particular ends. This was the kind of benevolence satirised by Sydney Smith ; as if, he said, the crew should have the general welfare of the ship so much at heart that no sailor should pull any particular rope or handle any individual sail.¹

¹ *Essay on Dr. Samuel Parr.*

The philanthropy of Fothergill was of another sort. His benevolence was the fruit of a spirit of pure love which actuated his whole life. It brooded over his home, it infused itself into his daily work as a physician, it bound him to his friends, it went forth to the brethren of his faith, it attached him to his city, it made him one with his country. Beyond the limits of his own land, neither race nor language nor colour put bars to his benevolence—he was the friend of man. The strict discipline to which he subjected himself made him fear lest he should minister to his own self-satisfaction by the very thought of doing good—much more, by receiving the applause of his deeds. He therefore shunned publicity, did good by stealth, and blushed to find it fame. The modesty of his attitude was dictated also by sympathy with those who were needy, especially with that class of persons who have known better days, and who are deterred by shame or by pride from complaining of their state. The delicacy of his manner enabled him to confer his gifts on such persons so gracefully that no modest worth was wounded. Sometimes he would suggest some motive for his bounty that seemed to make the receiver a claimant and himself only discharging a debt.

What Fothergill was in his home circle is noted in another chapter. His medical practice, one of the largest of his time, was pursued in a wholly unselfish spirit. From many of his patients he would take no fees, and to the close of his life he set apart some time for attending to the poor without charge. He made a practice of refusing payments from the clergy and ministers of religion unless they were in affluent station, partly that he might show that Quakers did not refuse to pay tithes from motives of parsimony. When some one remonstrated at such refusal in the case of a wealthy dignitary, he replied, "I had much rather return the fee of a gentleman with whose rank I am not perfectly acquainted, than run the risk of taking it from a man who ought perhaps to be the object of my bounty." The wife and children of a London curate on £50 a year were

seized with an epidemic disease, for which the doctor's aid was earnestly desired. A friend took the father to obtain his advice, and offered a fee, which was declined. The curate's address was noted, and the doctor called daily as long as he was needed: at the close the curate tendered to his kind adviser a sum which he had strained every nerve to obtain. What was his surprise when the doctor instead put ten guineas into his hand, and charged him to seek his help again freely if it was needed. After prescribing for a poor patient he would give a sum "to defray the cost of medicines"; or at a final interview, when he seemed to be feeling the pulse, he would slip into the hand a banknote; for he remembered, writes Lettsom, that there was such a disease as hunger in the catalogue of human ills, and if he could not cure he could at least relieve it. No one ever knew the extent of his benevolence to his patients. Of course he was imposed upon, and he knew it; but the springs of charity were not in his view to be dried up because some proved unworthy of it; they came from too deep a source in his character. He received a full reward although he looked for none. He did not lack for money, and he gained what is far more, the happiness of the man who seeks only that of others. Fothergill's attitude towards money shows that he had solved for himself the problem of its right use on principles that few attain to. He amassed no fortune, but he spent the large income earned by his daily labour in pursuit of his aims—in the help of his fellow-men and the increase of knowledge.

Fothergill used the same quiet unobtrusive methods in aiding his friends. He heard that a lady unknown to himself, but formerly known to his family, was in financial straits. She was astonished to receive from him through the hands of a friendly apothecary a sum of £100. Dr. Gowin Knight, the eminent electrician mentioned in the last chapter, was a friend of Fothergill's. By some speculations in mining he found himself in difficulties, and told the doctor that a sum of about one thousand pounds would make him once more happy. "I will then

make thee happy," replied his friend, and gave him the money. Fothergill lent to many who were in need, and seldom saw the loan returned. At one time we find him the nominal possessor of a tract of land of 5000 acres in Florida, assigned to him as security for money paid to one R. Willans to enable him to emigrate. He writes to W. Logan to see if it can be sold: "the land will be valuable to somebody, at some time; it surely must be worth £150 now." He had, it may be added, some more land in North Carolina, purchased by his brother and J. Pemberton about 1755, but had much difficulty in obtaining any rent for it.

Whilst such was Fothergill's benevolence in private, his soul was alive also to the great moral causes which at that period were beginning to stir the minds of men. He had indeed a far clearer vision of these than most in his day. What he thought and did for liberty and democracy will be shown elsewhere. He was one of the leaders of his own people, the Friends, in their stand for freedom of religion on both sides of the Atlantic. The Quaker testimony against all war became in his hands a positive force for peace. In all things he stood for righteousness, justice and love; and it was because no mere garb of expediency hid these pure principles from his eyes that his aim was so true and his life so potent of good.

SLAVERY: JOHN WOOLMAN

One great cause which commanded his interest and labour was the help of the slaves: the Friends, with some few others, here led the way. The conviction that slavery was contrary to the principles of the gospel of Christ was implicit in their teaching from the beginning: it was voiced by one and another as time went on; and first the horrid traffic in negro slaves, and then the very institution of slavery itself, fell under their condemnation. When the society had purged its own members of complicity in the evil, it turned to make its protest heard in the community. The cause was taken up in time by

many others ; but half a century had to pass in England, and a whole century in America, where the economic conditions were far more difficult, before the national conscience was roused to effectual action.

In Fothergill's time the movement was only becoming articulate. John Woolman was its prophet, a man weak, humble and given to tears—weeping like Hosea for the sins of his nation—yet so filled with love, so pure in thought, so self-effacing, that he had power to move the minds of his people. Under the influence of his tender entreaties the Yearly Meeting of Friends at Philadelphia in 1758 rose up and set their slaves at liberty. Woolman came to England in 1772. The story of his landing, alone and travel-stained from his steerage journey, to be received with coolness by the disciplinarian elders of London, may well be founded on fact. The pure gold was hidden under a strange exterior. Posterity has come to recognise him as the saint whose vision revealed the false and the true in the economy of human life.

'Twas thine to bear a dying Saviour's cross,
Redeemed from earth, and earth's perplexing cares,
Redeemed from lawful and unlawful self.

His contemporaries too often saw only a man of eccentric ways and extreme scruples. Even Fothergill writes, a few days after his arrival, of his singularities, but that these were outweighed by his real worth. London Yearly Meeting, which had often protested against the slave trade, passed in Woolman's presence its first Minute against the holding of negroes in bondage. He died at York in the same year.¹

Fothergill joined with his friends in the moral crusade against slavery and all its works. His practical mind, ever seeking ways to remedy the ills of men, projected a scheme for settling a colony of freed negroes in Africa to cultivate the sugar-cane, and he was ready, it is said, to subscribe £10,000 towards the expense. He received a

¹ *Journal of John Woolman*, New Century Ed. p. 231 note. MS. Letter, J. F. to Samuel Fothergill, 9.6.1772, Fds. Ref. Lib. M. Barnard, contemporary poem to Woolman's memory.

letter, however, from Anthony Benezet of Philadelphia, one of the most enlightened advocates of the slave, in 1773, discouraging the plan: it was better, he thought, that the negroes should live together with whites in a mixed community.¹

PRISON REFORM: JOHN HOWARD

Amongst the friends of Fothergill was John Howard: that austere enthusiast whose untiring labours in the cause of humanity over land and sea ceased only when they brought him to a lonely grave in Southern Russia. With him Fothergill was ever ready, in the words of Burke, "to dive into the depths of dungeons, to plunge into the infection of hospitals, to survey the mansions of sorrow and pain, to remember the forgotten," and "to visit the forsaken." Fothergill gave evidence with Howard before the House of Commons, which led to the passing in 1774 of the Act for preserving the health of prisoners in gaol. Two years later Fothergill published in the *Gazetteer* a letter signed "Philanthropos," on the employment of convicts. Instead of transporting them or putting them upon the hulks in the Thames, he proposed that all criminals, except murderers, incendiaries and robbers who used violence, should be employed in sawing stone, a labour which needed no apprenticeship, could be easily supervised, and which brought in at that time a wage of from ten to thirty shillings a week. He would have had three stone-yards formed on the river-side, near Old Palace, the Savoy and the Tower respectively, convenient for the shipment of the stone, and for summoning guards if they were needed. Here houses should be built, and stone cells, properly warmed, with high iron palisades on the landward side, through which the prisoners, in their parti-coloured dress, could be seen at their work—a useful deterrent, he thought, to others. The work would bring in enough to pay the charges and

¹ *Mem. Lettsom*, ii. 534. MS. Letter, A. Benezet to Dr. F., 1773. *Gibson MSS.* i. 27, Fds. Ref. Lib.

provide something for the families of the convicts. They should receive Christian instruction as well as needed discipline : at present there was no provision for religious worship for the prisoners upon the river.

When Howard's labours had at length borne fruit, and the miserable state of the gaols and the squalid wretchedness of the hulks had been laid bare to public view, the British Parliament, in 1779, passed an Act to empower the erection of two Penitentiary houses on a better system. Howard, Fothergill and Whatley, treasurer of the Foundling Hospital, were appointed as supervisors to carry out the experiment. All three were able men and earnest in the cause, but each of them had strong opinions. Fothergill took a broad and enlightened view of the duty committed to them. "We consider," he wrote on their behalf, "that the great object of the Act in question is to punish the convicts for past offences, and at the same time, if possible, to make them better men ; and that the mere profit or loss of their labour—though this is essentially necessary—is less an object with the legislature than their correction and reformation." The death of Sir William Blackstone, a firm and wise advocate of reformation, early in 1780, was a loss to the cause. The three commissioners had much ado to agree upon a site for the new buildings. Howard and Fothergill wished to build at Islington, but their colleague preferred Limehouse. Fothergill dying before the matter was settled, Howard and Whatley were too firmly set in friendly divergence to be able to work together : the former retired, and new supervisors were appointed. Little, however, was done : transportation of convicts to the colonies was still carried on, and it was not until 1821 that the great Penitentiary, with its 1100 separate cells, was opened at Millbank. Although Howard was thus the pioneer of the "separate system" in prisons, its more modern developments of complete solitude and silence were not in accordance with his teachings.¹

¹ Fothergill, *Works*, iii. pp. cxx, 59 ; John Howard, *State of Prisons*, 2nd ed. 1780, p. 118 n. ; *Correspondence, etc., of J. Howard*, by Rev. J. Field,

Although most of his benefactions were made in private, Fothergill did not forget the duty of example, contributing to funds raised in time of public calamity, and for the setting up and support of schools and other useful agencies both at home and in the colonies. During the war with America, when the gaols of England were filled with French prisoners taken in battle, a national subscription was made to feed and clothe them. The Friends contributed more than one-fourth of the total amount; and Fothergill, who gave liberally, acted as one of the committee for dispensing the fund. Dr. Johnson wrote a preface to the report of the charity, in which he dwelt upon the nobility of its aim: "the relief of enemies has a tendency to unite mankind in fraternal affection."

France had then long been spoken of as "our natural enemy." With true prescience Fothergill reasoned, so Lettsom writes, that by promoting trade, by which she would take our woollen and iron manufactures, and we should receive her laces and wines, she would become our natural friend.

RECOVERY OF THE APPARENTLY DROWNED: DR. W. HAWES

Fothergill early showed his instinct for seizing upon practical issues that promised good to the community, by placing before the Royal Society in 1745 an abstract of a case of recovery from apparent death that had occurred in Scotland in 1732. A man was brought up from a coal-pit, suffocated by smoke. A surgeon, William Tossack of Alloa, applied his mouth to the patient's mouth, holding his nose closed, and distended his lungs with warm air from his own chest. The heart at once began again to beat: the man was bled, drops only coming at first, and he slowly recovered. Fothergill proposes the trial of this method in cases of sudden

1855, pp. 61, 62; Burke, Speech at Bristol, 1780; J. P. Malcolm, *Manners and Customs of London*, 2nd ed. i. 81; Stephen Hobhouse in *Frds. Quart. Exam.*, 1918, p. 251. Fothergill's aid in the liberation of an American sea-captain from an English gaol is noted in *Mem. Dr. Geo. Logan*, p. 90.

death without obvious cause, and especially in fatal accidents of various kinds, such as drowning, suffocation, and death by hanging or by lightning, for which hitherto bleeding had been the only resort. He compares the animal machine to a clock, which is motionless without some impulse communicated to the pendulum ; this the timely inflation of the lungs may possibly give, and he thinks that the method may conduce to the saving of many lives.

After the lapse of a considerable period this subject obtained attention on the continent of Europe. About 1767 a Society for the Recovery of Drowned Persons was set up at Amsterdam, and similar bodies were formed at Hamburg, Venice, Milan, Padua, St. Petersburg, Vienna and Paris. An account of the Dutch society was translated and fell into the hands of Dr. William Hawes in 1773. Hawes was a medical practitioner residing in Palsgrave Place, Strand, London, born in 1736, unselfish in character, and totally, so we are told, "without guile : self never entered into his contemplation." He was an example of the type of men who seize one idea and pursue it, for he took up the interests of the apparently drowned, and became an enthusiast in the cause of resuscitating them, never ceasing his efforts until he had enlisted the sympathies of the slow and unwilling public. With indefatigable zeal Hawes set up stations along the river Thames, where the bodies of persons taken out of the water could be brought to him or his friends, and during a whole year he gave out of his own pocket rewards to all who should bring such bodies within a reasonable time after their immersion. Several lives were saved as a result.

Then Dr. Thomas Cogan came on the scene. Cogan was a versatile man, in succession Unitarian minister, physician, farmer and moral philosopher. At this time he had a lucrative midwifery practice in Paternoster Row, and was an active member of Lettsom's new Medical Society. When resident in Holland Cogan learned of the Dutch society and brought out an English version of its

memoirs. He now approached Hawes and objected to his bearing the expense of the effort. Their private friends were called together to the Chapter Coffee-house in 1774, and the Humane Society was founded by a group of thirty-two gentlemen. Lettsom was one of those who warmly supported it, and other names included those of Heberden and Oliver Goldsmith. Medals were promised for essays on the nature of death by drowning, and the best treatment to obviate it. Methods for use in these emergencies were drawn up and publicly issued, and rewards offered for their employ—a larger sum if the result was successful. Like most good efforts the society had to face ridicule at first, but it soon won recognition, and the Royal Humane Society—for it received the king's patronage in 1784—is now one of the established institutions of the country; its work in saving life has been of signal value. Hawes gave it his unremitting care until his death in 1808, and the wandering Cogan never forgot it, founding a branch at Bath and remembering it in his will. Members of the Hawes family still serve upon the committee of the society, and administer the (Anthony) "Fothergill Trust Fund." ¹

REGISTRATION OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS

In the year 1754 Fothergill took steps to bring the need of a proper registration of births, burials and marriages before the authorities.

The weekly Bills of Mortality in London had been in

¹ *Observations on a Case published in the Medical Essays, of recovering a Man dead in Appearance, etc.*, *Phil. Trans.* xliii. 275; *Foth., Works*, i. 267; see also *Med. Essays*, Edin., 1744, v. pt. ii. 605; *Med. Register*, Lond., 1779, p. 46; *Ann. Med. Rev. and Reg.*, 1808, p. 367; *Mem. Lettsom*, i. 58, 174, 186; and his *Hints*, ii. 277-315 (silhouette of Hawes and fine portrait of Cogan); [*Wadd*] *Nugæ*. pp. 198, 220; *J. Baron, Life of Jenner*, i. 567; Falconer's and Kite's prize Essays, Roy. Humane Soc., with Lettsom's addresses prefixed; *Reports of the Society*, and information from the Secretary, Major F. A. C. Cloughton. John Hunter, at the request of a member of this society, laid his observations on the loss and recovery of the actions of life before the Royal Society in 1776. See *Phil. Trans.* lxvi. 412, and *J. Hunter, Obs. on Animal Economy*, 2nd ed., 1792, p. 129. He advocates injecting oxygen through the nostrils by means of bellows.

existence since the reign of Queen Elizabeth, having been set up in 1592. But the entries were very imperfect, being derived from the reports of searchers, mostly poor ignorant women, who viewed the bodies of the dead. As a consequence the causes of death were assigned with little pretence to accuracy. Consumptions, convulsions and fevers were the three chief articles; and any emaciated body was placed in the first category, when some other wasting disorder, or old age alone, might have been the cause. A large proportion of deaths was accordingly debited to consumption—in the year 1768, 4379 out of 23,639 deaths from all causes,—and London acquired undeservedly a bad name as an unhealthy city. It was without avail that Graunt had already discussed the value and the defects of the Bills of Mortality as early as 1665. Recently Dr. Thomas Short had published a work, dealing at large with the records of births and burials, and the valuable inferences to be drawn from them, but deploring the inexactness of the Bills of Mortality and the Parish Registers.

The former system was under the control of the Company of Parish Clerks in London, and to them Fothergill applied, placing a memorial before them, which set forth that the weekly Bills were defective to his own knowledge, that the list of diseases was a very injudicious one, and therefore that their labours were to little useful purpose. He proposed a plan by which not only the parishes within the Bills of Mortality, but all the parishes in England, should be obliged to keep exact registers of births, burials and marriages; that each county should form an annual register from its several parishes; and that the returns from the counties should be incorporated at the capital in one general Bill or summary. In order to improve the list of causes of death Fothergill called some physicians of eminence together; the list was attentively considered, all synonymous and obsolete terms were rejected, and such explanations provided of the rest as would enable those who had to make report to do so with some precision.

The following benefits were to be expected from this change. The increase or decrease of particular diseases would be ascertained, in different periods, and at various places throughout the kingdom. The increase or decrease of the population would be known, and in time its numbers. Light would be thrown on the progress of the nation in vice or virtue, by the proportion of deaths reported as due to diseases proceeding from intemperance. Lastly, it would afford a firm basis of political arithmetic.

The Company thought the proposal of much consequence

and applied to parliament for powers to carry it into effect. Thomas Potter, M.P., undertook the conduct of the affair : a Bill was printed, and seemed to be in a way to pass the House of Commons. Unfortunately Potter insisted on inserting a clause for numbering the people of both sexes and all ages before the other provisions came into force. It seems hardly credible at this day that the number of the population was then unknown. Yet so it was, until the first census was taken in 1801. It was urged that if these numbers were obtained they would furnish a foundation for computing insurances on lives and other political calculations of great utility. The Life Tables of Simpson and Price had in fact to be constructed from the London Bills of Mortality. But the Opposition in parliament laid hold of the new clause ; it was assailed with clamour, and " nothing but the *sin of David* was heard of " until the Bill was rejected by a large majority. Such was the end of Fothergill's attempt to set up a national system of vital statistics, a system which Vicq d'Azyr showed to be no less needed in France. The old régime received a new lease of life, and a period little short of a century had to pass before the reform was made by the Registration Act of 1837.¹

OTHER SOCIAL EFFORTS

The food of the people much engaged the thoughts of Fothergill, especially in times of war and scarcity, when wheat rose to over £3 per quarter, then an excessive price, and the quartern loaf, which fetched fivepence in the middle of the century, rose to twice or three times that sum. An artisan's weekly wage, it may be noted, was then about ten shillings. In such a period of distress Fothergill advocated the use of potato to mix with the wheaten flour in making bread. He caused to be printed and distributed to bakers and others in London the following directions :

¹ Fothergill put on record anonymously in 1768 an account of his efforts, and tried to get his Pennsylvanian friends to set up registers : *Med. Obs. & Inq.* iv. 214 ; *Works*, i. 157, 165-167, ii. 107 ; Letter to J. Pemberton, 13.2.1771, Etting MSS. Fothergill's friends, Drs. Percival, Haygarth and Pulteney, worked later in the cause, and Dr. Hawes in 1781 addressed the king and parliament, recounting Fothergill's earlier effort, but in vain. *Ann. Med. Rev. and Reg.*, 1808, p. 371 ; *Phil. Trans.* xvi. 445, lxxii. 35, lxxvi. 349 ; T. Short, *Observations on the Bills of Mortality*, 1750 ; *Med. Obs. & Inq.* v. 270, 282 ; T. Percival, *Essays* ; Farr, *Vital Statistics*, p. 218.

Boil potatoes as in the common way for use ; take the skin off, and whilst warm bruise them with a spoon, or a clean hand ; put them into a dish before the fire to let the moisture evaporate, stirring them frequently that no part grow hard ; when dry, rub them as fine as possible between the hands. Take three parts of flour, and one part of the prepared potatoes (or equal quantities of each), and with water and yeast in the usual manner make into bread. It looks and tastes agreeably and will keep moist nearly a week ; it should not be cut until it is a day old.

This bread was often used. The Board of Agriculture at a later date advocated the use of such bread in the rural districts, directing that the potatoes should be strained through a sieve.¹

During the latter part of the century the agricultural labourers of England suffered much distress, the result of war and bad harvests, aggravated by land enclosures and the use of machinery, and potatoes began to a considerable extent to take the place of the wheaten bread, which, with small beer and cider, had been their common food. Fothergill's earlier efforts may have prepared the way for this change.

Fish was then little eaten by the poor in the interior parts of the kingdom. Fothergill thought it a food of value, and urged its consumption, so that the population might be less dependent in troublous times on the produce of the land. He had fish brought to London by land carriage—then a novel method—in order to break a monopoly which kept the price high. On the approach of the severe winter of 1767 he got several Friends to join him in purchasing fish wholesale and selling it to the poor at a slight loss. This small society of wealthy and generous men continued its efforts for three years, bringing also potatoes by sea from Lancashire and other cheap markets to sell them in the metropolis.²

The British system of canals was in making at this epoch. John Hustler, a wool-stapler of Bradford, who has left his mark on the growth of that great town, was

¹ *Works*, iii. p. lxxxiv ; see also Lettsom, *Hints*, i. 46, 52.

² *Works*, iii. pp. lxxxii ff.

an enthusiast for England's waterways. He was a minister among the Friends and an estimable man. A frequent guest at Fothergill's table, where his talk was ever of canals, he took counsel with the doctor, who saw how greatly, in those pre-railway days, the community would be helped by fuller facilities for the transit of merchandise. Fothergill had a plan of his own for bringing new canals to London to a grand reservoir in Cold Bath Fields, in order to link up that city with the northern system. In the depressed times his efforts led to no present success. The unwearied perseverance of Hustler had, however, a better result, for he lived to see in 1777 his pet project realised, when the German Ocean and the Irish Sea were connected by the great Leeds and Liverpool Canal.¹

REFORM OF LONDON

Fothergill was a Londoner during almost the whole of his adult life, and had a high regard for the rights and duties of citizenship—such an association of men as Aristotle puts in the forefront of his treatise on Politics. London was already a great city of 750,000 souls, and a centre of commerce, as the "sister city of Westminster" was the seat of arts and of government. Fothergill spent a large portion of each day in travelling from one part to another of the metropolis, and of the country around it. The streets were narrow, ill-lit, ill-paved, ill-cleansed, according to modern ideas; some thoroughfares which in our day are filled with shops and offices—for example, Cheapside and Mark Lane—then contained the residences of wealthy merchants, and gardens with fountains and pleasant retreats were found where numerous floors of crowded warehouses now occupy every foot of ground. Like his friend Franklin, by whose inventive genius and alert energy Philadelphia came to be one of the best ordered cities in the world, Fothergill was ever on the watch to remedy the abuses and supply the needs of his own town.

¹ *Works*, iii. p. cvi; Hird, *Affectionate Tribute*; MS. Diary of Betty Fothergill; *Mem. S. Fothergill*, p. 500 n.; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* Hustler died in 1790, aged seventy-five years.

If he had not Franklin's singular power of persuading his fellows, he effected at least something, and in the reactionary pleasure-loving epoch in which he lived put forward reforms, some of which had to wait long for their fulfilment.

He wrote many articles in the public journals, especially in the *Gazetteer*, unsigned, as was his wont, urging the improvement of the metropolis. Much of his own time was lost through stops and delays in the streets. Wisdom, he said, consists not in deploring accidents when they happen, but in preventing their causes by foreseeing them. He regretted that the opportunity of the great fire had not been taken to widen the thoroughfares on an ample scale; and when fires took place he laboured, too often in vain, to have the new-built houses set back from their former sites. He proposed that surveys should be made of the city, and that parliament should vest power in a commission to purchase houses and ground when leases expired, or to do this compulsorily within a time limit, in order to widen the chief streets. He would place a tax on wheels—20s. on coaches, less on other vehicles—to raise the necessary funds. In not a few parts of the city, he said plaintively, there was no street that would admit two coaches abreast; a stationary dust-cart occasioned inconceivable delays. He entered into a detailed review of the crooked ways surrounding the Tower of London. Aldgate he would not remove, but would add another arch to the gate; it was a majestic ornament, *decus et tutamen*, and inspired visitors to the city with respect: "changing gates into jails I abhor."

Not alone improved communication but safety from fire and advantage to the police of the town would result from widening the narrow streets. The two chief avenues into London from the north were then Smithfield and Bishopsgate Street, and there was no cross communication between them save by the narrowest lanes. Fothergill would have run an ample road from Moorfields to the Mansion House, and another from the village of Islington to Blackfriars Bridge, then a recent and much admired

structure.¹ These changes, which his prevision led him to advise, might have been done at that day without an immense cost to the community, but nearly a century had to pass before their purpose was fulfilled by the cutting of Farringdon Road and Moorgate Street. Other letters referred to the police of the city; another had reference to the pavements, and expounded the best methods, and the proper size and squaring of the stones employed. There were then numerous sugar factories in the city of London, some in narrow streets such as Bow Lane and Knight-riding Street; and besides the smoke and filth they engendered, devastating fires were of frequent occurrence. Fothergill pleaded that no more sugar-houses should be allowed in the city proper, but only in one vacant tract outside its boundary.

He turned his attention also to the burial of the dead, which was still practised within the city, the coffins often crowded together and covered with but a thin layer of earth. He advocated the formation of public cemeteries spaciouly laid out in Moorfields, at that time an open site on the north side of the town. He had a strong conviction of the importance of bathing, a practice then mostly confined to the wealthier members of society. Not many days before his last illness he wrote a letter to the directors of the New River Company, urging that they would render an essential service to the community, if they would build public bathing-houses in suitable places, for men, women, boys and girls respectively, which could be used at low prices, say from sixpence to one penny per bath.²

Such was Fothergill as a philanthropist and social reformer. What he did he did simply and naturally, as the outcome of his own kindness. He never posed; one could not quite say the same of his friend Lettsom. Nor had the philanthropy of Fothergill anything in it priggish or superior; he did not set himself up to instruct others.

¹ In this he worked with Charles Dingley. See *Works*, iii. p. cvii, and C. Dingley, folio leaf addressed *To the Citizens of London* (no copy found in Brit. Mus.).

² *Works*, iii. pp. cv-cxvi; MS. at Fds. Ref. Lib.; *Gazetteer*, 1768, 1769, etc.

His own fame had no part amongst the motives of his life; indeed, so far as a man can be said to lose sight of himself, Fothergill had done so. The love which most men give to wife or children he gave to all his fellows, and the clear mind and steadfast will availed to make that love fruitful in word and deed.¹

¹ "Some pleasant anecdotes illustrative of Fothergill's benevolence" are in one of the *Strachey MSS.*; unfortunately Lord Strachie's obliging efforts have failed to find the MS. *Hist. MSS. Comm.* vi. 403.

CHAPTER XVII

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN FOTHERGILL'S EARLY DAYS

L'hérétique d'aujourd'hui est l'orthodoxe de l'avenir.

The Christians dwell in the cities of the Greeks and of the Barbarians, each as his lot has been cast ; and while they conform to the usages of the country, they yet show a peculiarity of conduct wondrous to all. They inhabit their native country but as strangers. They take their share of all burdens. They are in the flesh, but they live not after the flesh. They tarry on earth, but their citizenship is in Heaven. They love all and are persecuted by all.—*Epistle to Diognetus*, second century A.D.

WHEN Fothergill was born in 1712, two generations had passed since the Society of Friends was founded. George Fox had been dead for more than twenty years, but Penn was living in happy second childhood at Ruscombe, Ellwood in studious retirement at Hunger Hill, and George Whitehead, the grand old man of Metropolitan Quakerism, who pleaded its cause before five British sovereigns, was yet vigorous. The fervour of the earlier Friends had cooled, and with it the robust life that put forth constant action ; the society had become a united and settled community, and already the voice of lamentation for declension from its pristine virtue was often heard. The dictates of a strong objective faith had given place to the quiet pursuit of godly ways. The Epistles issued by the Yearly Meeting bear witness to the spiritual change. There is a note of triumph in the earlier letters, much mention of " the power of God," the " arm of power," and praise is offered for the support given to " the children of the kingdom." When the eighteenth century begins, Friends dwell more on good order, on concord and unity, on " inoffensive conduct,"

and on comfort and quiet, rather than on power. The timid note, "we trust," replaces the tone of assurance. They are "a peculiar people"—a phrase which took on a sense unworthy of the original—and the purpose of the annual assemblies is now "the care of the affairs of the churches," rather than, as it was at first, the prosperity and the "spreading of Truth."¹ Persecution and oppression were not quite over, but they had taken the form of ridicule and obloquy rather than injury to person or to goods, although distraint for tithes was to continue yet for a century and a half.² From the Toleration Act of 1689 to the Affirmation Act of 1721, Friends had been relieved step by step from many disabilities, and the society had come to be regarded by the legislature as a somewhat eccentric but respectable body of people, for whom the state kindly made allowance in its laws. Much searching of heart took place amongst the more scrupulous members as to whether the use of an affirmation in lieu of an oath could rightly be availed of.

Years of comparative quiet followed, during which the society did little to enlarge its borders; the meetings of Friends were often held in silence, and very few new meetings were settled after the year 1700. The history of this period in the life of the society has scarcely yet been written, and only a few facts can be here set down which may throw light on the development of its polity and its place in the nation, a development in which Fothergill took his part. During the earlier Georgian period, the corruption of public manners and principles combined with other influences to mark off the Quakers as a body separate from the "world," and disallowed by its testimonies and customs from holding any public office or taking part in many worldly concerns. Member-

¹ Compare the *Epistles from the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in London*; those of 1681-1691, with those of the following twenty-five years.

² The Epistle of 1779, signed by Fothergill as clerk, was challenged for its reference to "sufferings" for distraint, since tithes were an impost properly due. He had no difficulty in showing that, unlike taxes, tithes were not due from Friends for value received, and that sufferings were caused by the distraint of greatly augmented sums. *Gent. Mag.*, 1779, p. 431. Sir R. Walpole sought in vain to pass a law to modify the severity of the process.

ship by birthright in the society was first clearly defined in the year 1737. Tradition had come, first to reinforce, and afterwards in part to supplant, the force of living conviction that was the mainspring of Friends' principles; they were settling down to formalism. A good many indeed of the younger members went out into the world, and were "married by a priest" to its daughters; these were dealt with as delinquents and usually severed from the body. The procedure in "disownment" seems rigorous to modern eyes, and not less so the public penance of reconciliation.

But much activity was still shown in several ways. One of these was literary. The fertile pens of the founders of Quakerism had produced a considerable literature of their own. This was enlarged and consolidated during the earlier decades of the eighteenth century. Sewel's *History of the Quakers*, the voluminous account of Sufferings, and a great number of spiritual biographies of members of the society were published in this period, besides many editions of the works of Fox, Barclay, Penn and others. Some of these were intended to influence the world around, but more and more it became the dominant aim to preserve and nurture those within the fold. The young were strictly brought up in the select literary environment of these sober Quaker volumes, whose very bindings were innocent of gilt adornment, as well as in the perusal of manuscript accounts and testimonies of Friends, carefully copied out and handed down in their families.

Another form of activity was exercised by the travelling ministers, or "Publick Friends," of both sexes, whose labours were conspicuous in the early days of the society, and who were still numerous throughout the first half of the eighteenth century.¹ Debarred as they were from mixing with the world, the more spiritual members had little other outlet for their energy. But to this work they

¹ President I. Sharpless gives a list of ninety visits, some of them occupying several years, paid by Friends from beyond seas to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, between 1700 and 1773. Rufus M. Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonies*, p. 543.

devoted themselves, unpaid and seldom free from the cares of a trade, facing labour and hardship, and not sparing life itself, if need be, in the pursuit. The training for the ministry was drawn from no college course, but from years of patient and humble exercise in the regular meetings of Friends, until a man's or a woman's spirit—for the women ministers were probably the more numerous at this period—was brought under control, and made the vehicle of a divine message; when this was recognised by his brethren he was recorded or acknowledged as a minister. Such recording only assumed a definite form in Fothergill's later years. It is true that the theory of immediate inspiration was so followed as to limit the use of the intelligence, and the addresses even of the abler ministers, unless these were by nature orators, were often lacking in coherence and order. The manner of speaking was often conventional and sometimes peculiar, and the range of thought was narrowed. Yet in these messages there was a sincerity and force, born of silent meditation, which reached the hearts of many hearers. The calling of a minister had now become recognised; these members occupied the "gallery" of the meeting-house, and contrary to their own desire the responsibility of the vocal exercises came to depend more upon them, and less, as at first, upon the congregation at large. Elders were appointed in 1727 to advise the ministers.

It was in such an atmosphere that young Fothergill's boyhood was passed. His father, as we have seen, was a highly esteemed minister in the society, and travelled widely in that service. Of his younger brother, Samuel Fothergill, some account will be given in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XVIII

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL

Strong servants of great Zeus became they both,
These brethren twain.

HOMER, *Odyssey*, xi. 254.

The bond of our friendship is purity, and a joint concern for the honour of God and for the good of mankind.—CATHERINE PAYTON to Samuel Fothergill, 1757.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL was one of the famous Quaker preachers of the century. He was born in 1715, and lost his mother when he was three years old. After some years spent at Sedbergh school with his brother, he was apprenticed to a Friend shopkeeper in the town of Stockport. Here his talents and lively disposition made him a favourite, but mingling with bad companions he led for some years a wayward and dissipated life, to the grief of his relations. Yet he had his times of visitation and of deep inward struggle, and his friends laboured long and not without hope to reclaim him. When Samuel was twenty years of age his father set out on his third religious visit to America. After imparting to his son words of counsel and warning, the austere and afflicted man took leave of him thus: "And now, son Samuel, farewell! farewell! and unless it be as a changed man, I cannot say that I have any wish ever to see thee again." These and other words had their influence; Samuel Fothergill went through a crisis in his inner nature, in which the good Spirit overcame once and for all the evil which had held him down, and turned the current of a highly gifted life into the ways of truth. His friends helped him, especially Susannah Croudson of Warrington,

whom he afterwards married (in 1738) ; and he wrote to his Monthly Meeting a letter of confession and repentance, telling them that Christ in his kindness had unstopped his ears and opened his eyes, had shown him the precipice at whose brink he stood, and had set his sins in order before him and breathed into him the breath of life. He had tasted of his mercy and of his love. Samuel Fothergill was not long in hearing the call to proclaim that love, that he might win others from evil ways. As with so many of the world's preachers, the passage of his own fervent soul from darkness to light helped mightily to equip him for this spiritual campaign. He knew what was in the hearts of other men ; he had gone through it all. By the time his father returned from America in 1738 the son was preaching the faith of which he once made havoc. Tradition tells that, after landing, John Fothergill came late to a meeting at York, where he stood up and spoke, but presently stopped, saying that what he had to impart was given to another ; on this followed a powerful address from a younger Friend, and when Fothergill afterwards inquired who it was, he was told that it was his son Samuel.

Samuel Fothergill settled in the business of a tea-dealer and American merchant at Warrington, which in the course of years brought him a competency, but he gave up much time, as did also his wife, to visiting meetings and Friends in England and Ireland. He had now the full confidence of his friends ; his character was matured and his gifts developed. His brother, the doctor, between whom and himself there was a very close bond of friendship, was of no little help to him, affording the support of a firm and steady mind to one in which imagination and fervency of spirit brought the liability to despondency as well as to exaltation. Self-condemnation dwelt long with him ; he passed through the deeps ; his lot was one of poverty ; he felt himself a monument of mercy ; and the power of evil was very real to him. His safety was in a " steady feeling after God " ; there he found light and grace, and a spring of abundant love rose in his soul. He

toiled hard in his visits amongst the Friends, finding much declension ; large fortunes, fruits of the fathers' industry, had introduced pride and indolence ; " drunkenness and revelling " were not unknown at a Yearly Meeting ; " the well of life is oppressed with rubbish " ; elsewhere a " splendidly delusive " spirit had gone forth ; and it was dull heavy work in some places. Yet he had glorious and memorable meetings, and many of the public came to hear him, including at times the clergy and men of rank. Cultured, graceful and affable, he possessed a gift of persuasive eloquence which made some of his friends tremble lest he should be led away from true simplicity. He was the polished orator of the society, and his voice was compared to a silver trumpet. Such indeed he felt himself to be, a trumpet set upon the walls of Zion, in a dark and cloudy day, when the world was corrupt and the church dull and indifferent, to summon the saints to their high calling. He spoke with authority as one who had received a divine commission, though unto himself in his humility belonged only " blushing and confusion of face."

In 1754 Samuel Fothergill paid a memorable visit to the American colonies. It occupied him for nearly two years, and in its course he went through all the provinces of North America, travelling 8765 miles, mostly on horseback. Although far from robust in health, he endured no little bodily hardship as well as spiritual toil. In the unsettled parts of the country he had often to lie down at night as he was, upon a bearskin or on the rough floor of a cabin ; sometimes he slept in the woods under the canopy of heaven. At one place he begged Indian bread, and divided it honestly, he tells us, between his horse and himself. The memory of his father ensured him a kind welcome, and soon he was loved and revered for his own sake. Much prayer and waiting had prepared him for the service, and kept him in quiet of mind during its fulfilment, weaned, as he said, from all at home. " My soul is bound to the testimony and seed of God in these parts."

It was no hasty journey. Wherever he went, it was his aim to visit every small meeting of the Friends, and many of their families, and when that was done he would collect four or five meetings together to give them his farewell charge. Some places he visited three, four or even six times, until he felt in his soul that he was clear of any further duty. Near Philadelphia he once attended five Monthly Meetings on successive days, commencing at 10 A.M. and continuing till 5 P.M. without breaking up or refreshment.

He found the state of the society low in America as in England. In Pennsylvania there was a very great body of people who bore the name of Friends. Too few of the aged had kept their garments clean. Their fathers' holdings of land had endowed them with large estates, and they had "a profession of religion, which was partly national, which descended like the patrimony, and cost as little." They were settled in ease and affluence, but the plantation of God was uncultivated and the discipline had decayed. Yet there was a noble seed among them, a remnant that deserved well. The offspring were ill-instructed, but a visitation of soul had come to many, and there was hope in the prospect. In Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina the gain of oppression due to the keeping of slaves had checked the spiritual life: Friends were diminished and their testimonies not kept. But the alarm of the heavenly trumpet had been heard, and the blessed Hand was at work, especially among the young. In South Carolina and Georgia Friends were very few. In the Jerseys there was a valuable body of members, but much chaff. In the Yearly Meetings of the New England provinces there were large bodies of Friends, but few were truly faithful; their leaders had caused them to err, or divisions had come in, or they had gone after the world. He left them too often with a pained heart; yet sorrow was mixed with hope. There was a small but valuable company of members in New York city. Samuel Fothergill had thus often to record a severe judgment of his friends' condition. He writes of a

"painful stupidity of heart" benumbing the people. Many of those advanced in years were very insensible to true feeling; he had to rebuke their crooked footsteps, yet it was hard to lift up a hand against grey hairs. "In some places," he writes, "my passage seems through briars and thorns, and my walking as amongst the tombs of the dead." It was the most exercising and laborious work he had ever engaged in.

Besides his witness to a deep spiritual experience, a chief aim with him was "a revival of that discipline which divine wisdom placed as a hedge about his vineyard, when He planted it in the morning of our day." This was opposed in some parts by a ranting spirit; the libertines would "cavil and rage"; he travelled among scorpions and serpents. At Newport, Rhode Island,—the largest Yearly Meeting gathering in the world—at Nantucket, and at Flushing, Long Island, he wrought steadfastly, seconded by faithful Friends, to establish church order, and carried through something like the reformation which took place in England a little later. Queries were instituted to be sent down to the meetings. These were to be used in Rhode Island as a test of membership, a privilege which was there loosely held.

Whilst he had thus much to do in raising the standard of religious life in the society, he drew many others from outside to hear his message; crowded gatherings attended his coming, and the court-houses of the towns were often put at his service. At Elizabethtown, where his father had met determined opposition, the governor of the Jerseys procured the Presbyterian meeting-house for him, and himself attended the meeting. S. Fothergill dined with the old man afterwards, and deemed his "immortal part not far from the Kingdom."

Boston was the Aceldama of the Quakers. In the persecution that raged against them in the days of Oliver and Charles II. many Friends laid down their lives in British jails or as a result of hardships, but on Boston Common alone they had been put to death. William Robinson, Mary Dyer and their companions had slept in

peace for nearly a century when S. Fothergill came to Boston, not proscribed as an outlaw but welcomed as a guest. Here he had many open and very large meetings, one notably on the 1st August 1755, for which the magistrates cheerfully offered him the use of the town-hall. Two thousand persons were present, including nearly all the magistracy and some of the principal people. "It was a time never to be forgotten; the power and wisdom of Truth was as a canopy over the meeting."¹

S. Fothergill's visit coincided with a time of much trouble in Pennsylvania, when, under the pressure of war and the large infusion of persons of other faiths in the once Quaker province, the peaceable Friends could no longer consistently hold their ground in the Assembly. Of this we shall hear more in another chapter. The Indians, egged on by the French, were on the war-path; Braddock went out against them and was slain; the frontier settlements reeked of blood. The action of Friends individually and as a body had become extremely difficult. Samuel Fothergill, aided by advice from his brother the doctor at home, applied his mind to the situation, had interviews with the Assembly-men, and in the course of some months, during which he suffered anguish of spirit for the Truth, helped them to arrive at the decision to withdraw from power and responsibility. It was a task which commanded the attention of every faculty of his soul and spirit. The Friends at length retired from public affairs; and may they, he says, ever remain so! "Placed in the midst of this world and its commotions, we shall know our situation to be as a garden enclosed."

Very slowly, and as if with look averted, he entertained the thought of returning home, waiting and watching that he might first fulfil the whole of his duty; but at length his mind seemed clear, and he was able to leave

¹ Yet another period of a century and a half passed, and on Jan. 29, 1914, a meeting after the manner of Friends was held in St. Paul's Cathedral, Boston. Besides Episcopalians, there were present members of all the three branches of Quakerism. See *Friends' Intelligencer*, lxxi. 121.

America with a sense of a completed work. "The Lord hath set before me an open door amongst this people, and they know I have not flattered them, nor coveted any marks of their regard." "I never knew deeper poverty, nor more glorious riches, than in that land." On the voyage home he was accompanied by Samuel Emlén, a young Pennsylvanian who had been impressed by his message and who looked up to him as to a father. S. Emlén became himself a minister : he was a man little of stature, frail and singular, but his mind was enlarged and cultivated, his sympathy with sorrow was deep, and he had a prophetic spirit : a Nazirite, "the pattern of innocence, wisdom and simplicity," so wrote Dr. Fothergill. He was well known and loved in the society for many years on both sides of the ocean.¹

After his return home in 1756 Samuel Fothergill led at first a quiet life, hearing but seldom from his friends on the other side, and suffering from the depression which often follows much mental exertion. He felt himself to be "a disbanded soldier" : he sat alone, in poverty and leanness ; there were only "glimmerings of the Master's countenance," but he was content it should be so. In the following year he had a severe illness, probably gout affecting an exhausted nervous system, and although he recovered it was not to his former strength. He continued to attend meetings diligently and to preach, and his repute was now such that he was much sought after and listened to. At St. Ives, Cornwall, he spoke to above 3000 people gathered on the sea-shore. It is said that at a Quarterly Meeting at York Friends were pressing upon him and urging him to further service, when an aged woman from the country took him aside and quoted these words : When Jesus perceived that they would take Him by force to make Him a king, He departed into a mountain Himself alone. Samuel Fothergill accepted the warning, sought his horse, and rode quietly homeward.

S. Fothergill was one of a small circle of gifted Friends

¹ See also [Nathan and W. Kite] *Biographical Sketches & Anecdotes of Friends*, Phila. [1870], p. 46.

at this period, including amongst others Catherine Payton, Samuel Neale, Abraham Harrington, John Griffith and John Gurney, who, as their letters show, were closely united in labouring for the uplift of the Quaker church. There was much to weigh upon their spirits; divisions in some places; elsewhere there was union, "but I fear," S. Fothergill writes, "the unity of the Spirit is not the source, but rather an agreement to let things go as they may or will, without much care about them; and if any are zealous for the testimony, to single them out as turners of the world upside down and troublers of the church's quiet." It was no wonder that the leaders had often to mourn and to use the language of rebuke, and that their letters were fuller of fear and perplexity than of joy. Alternations of light and darkness were their experience; sometimes they were filled with a sense of divine glory, sometimes stripped of all good, or feeling themselves as empty vessels. Such a mental experience may seem to us unhealthy, but criticism stands disarmed before the self-denial and untiring labours of these saintly men and women, who raised the spiritual level of the society in their own time.

The Fothergills were not robust in bodily constitution; their nervous energy wore down the physical frame before its time, and they were spared the "meanders and mazes" of old age; S. Fothergill lived but to fifty-six years. The gout in his later years became chronic, and he was beset with bronchial and digestive trouble and feebleness of limbs. He knew that his days were drawing to their close; the end was before him, and he was content. His spirit grew through suffering in humility and patience, and shone forth in mastery over the weak body. Never were his public addresses more powerful: his words "at times went forth as a flame, piercing the recesses of darkness," or, again, "descended like dew upon the tender plants." In a long-remembered visit to Bristol in 1767 some of his addresses to large audiences were taken down. "It is not possible for me by any language I have yet learned," writes Sarah Champion, "to convey what were

my feelings while I listened as to an angel's voice. When he addressed the youth—"O, you who in a state of innocence often lift up your hearts to God, you who have not known the depths of Satan"—I have seen the tears stealing down the cheeks of the thoughtless, and all that seemed to obstruct the power of religion melt away as wax before the sun."¹ At the Yearly Meeting of 1768, though feeble, hoarse and with a hollow cough, he had "a very fine and high opportunity." At the next Yearly Meeting he was taken ill: Lettsom, who had been his ward and loved him truly, had to accompany him home to Cheshire; and he was never afterwards well. Yet we find him again in London later in the year, visiting in series the families of Friends, and preaching at Horsleydown, Southwark, one of his most famous addresses, long circulated in manuscript and in print.² He was present too once more at the National Meeting in Dublin, where, writes Richard Shackleton to his father, he seemed "as burning incense"; he was "made like the shewbread on the altar": glorious as some sacred symbol, to enamour the people with the beauty of truth.

At length the ardent spirit sank low. "I know not how to exert myself," he wrote; "there seems in every case a lion in the streets." Deep was the sorrow of the doctor and his sister in London as the end drew near. Their letters had long been a mutual delight. "By a happy collision," wrote S. Fothergill, "we may fetch out the sparks of divine fire from each other." "Farewell," the doctor ended one letter, "our brother, our friend, our joy." The tender sister remembered him when on her pillow: "I could offer myself in thy stead if Providence would accept so mean an offering." The dying

¹ *MS. Journal of Sarah Champion*, afterwards Fox.

² "Blow the Trumpet, Sanctify a Fast, etc.," Joel ii. 15. This and other of his discourses were printed in many editions between 1773 and 1803, and in America 1781-1792, long after his voice was still. Few extempore sermons will bear such record, but in S. Fothergill's case there is much freshness and choice of language, and his prayers sometimes exhibit the chastened thought of a collect. A visitor to a remote parish church in the Scilly Isles early in the next century found a little volume of S. Fothergill's discourses in weekly use: one was read by the clerk, save on the infrequent days of the minister's attendance.—*MS. Memo. of Eliz. Fothergill*, Fds. Ref. Lib.

saint, pondering on his brother's public course of life, trembled for his safe preservation. "My friend, my brother, my companion, who stands as on a slippery sea of glass, surrounded by the flattery of those who assume the guise of knowledge and sincerity! Thy station exposes thee to many things that wound the secret innocent life of Jesus. Oh, watch over it as thy chief treasure." He delivered his parting messages with uncommon power, energy and life: one of these that was addressed to his own meeting mingled stern rebuke with words of hopefulness. Through painful nights and wearisome days a sense of humble assurance rested with him to the end: "although my house has not been so with God . . . yet his candle shines around mine head. He is good, and his mercy endureth for ever."

Samuel Fothergill died at his house at Warrington on June 15, 1772, and was buried at Penketh, a large concourse of all ranks of people attending on the occasion. His widow, who was older than himself and already in feeble health, survived him but for a year: innocence and peace marked her closing days. They had no children. In person S. Fothergill was taller than his brother, comely and dignified, courteous, with an ease and politeness of manner founded on true kindness of heart. He wore the wig and long coat of the period. "Well read both in books and men," he had an observant mind and a good memory; and a sense of innocent humour made him a pleasant companion, especially to the young.

In the long list of Quaker preachers S. Fothergill is distinguished by his uncommon gifts. "He was a glowing exhibition as he stood before the great throngs that came to hear him, and as he moved quietly among men in his daily walk, of a type of life which demonstrates beyond all arguments the incoming of the divine into the human."¹ He had a high conception of the Christian

¹ Rufus M. Jones, *op. cit.* p. 129. No portrait of S. Fothergill is known to the author. Mrs. Gummere of Haverford possesses a profile outline, taken whilst he was preaching. When he rose to speak, he was often slow at first: it was his habit, we are told, to thrust the fingers of his left hand under his

ministry. It is a solemn and awful thing, he writes in 1760 to Susannah Hatton, to assume the name of the Lord's ambassador. The Lord gives us, not only instructions for ourselves but also credentials to others: if we wait his time, the clear message will be received: not like that of Ahimaaz, who pleaded, "When I ran, there was a tumult." In all the service we must remember our Lord's dignity, and maintain that dignity by purity of life and singleness to Him. "Try the spirits, . . . mistake not the warmth of passion for the gospel authority; the first is like the rattling thunder, which frights, but never hurts; the last is like the lightning, which illuminates and breaks through, and melts down every obstruction." Be not disquieted at a sense of deep poverty: make no human confidant: receive no obligation that can be avoided, lest men say "I have requited his labour": be courteous to all unless secretly restrained.

The literary style and eloquence of his own addresses, unusual in the members of his society at that period, made them the more effective vehicle for the message he bore. When he prayed in public, it seemed, we are told, as if heaven and earth were brought together. He had an apt way of summing up conditions, or addressing individuals in a few words. "Be content to be a child," he says to one, "or thou wilt be a monster." "Know thy place and abide there." "Thy branches are too large for thy root." "Some men are too big to enter in at the strait gate, too lazy to walk in the narrow way." "Many have wished for our crown without our cross." "The smoothest passage is often mercifully thorny." "Esteem is a cool word,"—this to a newly married relation—"but it is the permanent basis of union." His letters and discourses abound with Scripture symbols, and he spiritualised the Old Testament after the Puritan manner. Indeed his thought moved in metaphors, often felicitous, and sometimes quaint. It is on record that

wig, and it was when these were presently withdrawn, that his words flowed forth like a mighty stream, full of force and beauty. MS. Records of Jas. Jenkins, p. 101, Fds. Ref. Lib.

he tenderly cautioned the Friends of the sister island against their vivacity: let the girdle, he said, be drawn a little tighter, and let them know the ass's colt to be bound to the choice vine.

His spirit was a fine instrument which could respond to many tones. It woke to the solemn chord of judgment: "I testify, in the name and under an awful sense of the authority of the Most High: Woe to those by whom such offences come." It quivered to a symphony of sorrow; or again it vibrated with gladness, as when he likened the joyful chorus of souls raised above the clogs of mortality to the singing of birds. Samuel Fothergill was in his own society one of those prophetic figures whose influence helps to form the atmosphere of a church long after they have passed out of sight. His letters were treasured, read and copied; they are found in old collections of Quaker manuscripts preserved in families. Many have been printed in the society's periodicals. One remarkable letter, perhaps not hitherto published, will be found in the appendix (C) to this volume.¹

¹ The *Memoirs of Samuel Fothergill*, 1843, were written by George Crosfield of Lancaster, who had married his great niece. The book consists mainly of a series of letters, and is compiled in a loyal and sympathetic spirit. See also *A Just Character of the Late Mr. S. Fothergill*, by a Lover of Truth and Virtue, 1774, reprinted from the *British Magazine*; *Memoir of W. Cookworthy*, p. 135; MS. Letters, Frds. Ref. Lib.; *The Friend*, Phila., numerous references; D. H. Forsythe, in *Quaker Biographies*, Phila., 1910, iv. S. Fothergill is said to have destroyed his own Journals in a fit of depression. J. Jenkins, *op. cit.* p. 918.

CHAPTER XIX

FOTHERGILL AS A MEMBER OF THE FRIENDS

Faithful Christian ! Seek the truth, hearken to the truth, learn the truth, hold the truth, defend the truth, even unto death ; for the truth will make thee free from sin, and finally from everlasting death.—JOHN HUS, about 1410.

Awake to a sense of the holy principle of light, life and grace—to an obedience to it, to a knowledge of its blessed effects : this is the one thing needful.—Dr. J. FOTHERGILL, 1776.

The phenomena which belong to the region of the spirit can be interpreted only through the medium of the spirit.—Lord HALDANE.

JOHN FOTHERGILL was a sober, thoughtful, spiritually-minded Friend from his youth, suspicious of enthusiasm and of a reverent spirit. He would refer sometimes to a "Power whose great name I am not worthy to mention." "Be short in supplication," he writes to his brother, "use no words not in common use. The ineffable majesty of heaven is enough to dazzle all human conceptions, yet the 'Our Father which art in heaven' is indeed a complete model. Stray from its simplicity as seldom as possible." "Plain simple truth," he writes again, "needs little decoration : it strikes the mind disposed to receive it more forcibly than the greatest eloquence." His own life was based upon the habit of quiet communion of spirit with the Divine, and close obedience to a tender conscience. His advice to a niece is but a reflex of his own mind. "When the gentle whispers of divine goodwill call thee to inward retirement whilst thy hand perhaps is employed in necessary duties, yield to the holy visitation, embrace it, and always keep an eye and ear open to this secret instruction. So wilt thou be led to

larger and larger experience." "Love of action," he writes in a fragment of diary in 1751, "lessens the love of silence and retirement. Yet this condition is the safest, and insensibly would lead to stability and the conquest of passion." Self-examination was a rule of his life.

He was very loyal to the Society of Friends, and from the outset of his life in London gave time and thought to its interests. He took his seat, as we shall see, whilst still a young man, in the "Meeting for Sufferings." As time went on he came to be one of the leading Friends in London. Probably during the latter years of his life there was no one whose judgment was so highly esteemed by the society both here and in America. He does not seem to have had any call to preaching, but was an "Elder," and three times acted as Clerk to the Yearly Meeting in London, viz. in 1749, 1764 and 1779, besides serving in several northern counties on the Visitation Committee of 1776. Fothergill was, we are told, an excellent clerk, expressing much meaning in few words in all he said and wrote—*multum in parvo*. The Epistle issued in 1764 over his signature recounts in forcible and eloquent language the rise of the society and its essential principle.

It was shown in the last chapter that the spiritual life of the Friends on both sides of the Atlantic had fallen in Fothergill's period to a low level. Meetings for worship were often held in entire silence ; and visiting ministers, when they were present, would sometimes utter nothing. Silent meetings were not unknown in earlier days, a silence of heartfelt devotion and communion ; but habitual silence could not be wholesome ; too often it was barren of good thoughts, and due to a drowsy lifeless state. The younger members were ill-educated, even according to the low standard of those days. The congregations fell off, and spiritual deadness bore fruit in lapses of conduct. Slackness and disintegration threatened the very structure of the community. The society had been organised in 1659 by George Fox and his coadjutors in districts, under

Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings: the whole fabric was assailed on the plea of the liberty of the Spirit by the Wilkinson-Story schism of 1677, but it weathered the storm, and remained as the outward framework of the church. Much care in the keeping of minutes and registers had helped to preserve its continuity. But now the church meetings had grown lax, and it is said that in some places, especially in Scotland, the "Monthly Meeting," the chief administrative authority, was no longer held, and it could not be known who were and who were not members.¹ Yet during all this time there were many like the Fothergills who were loyal-hearted, who mourned over declension, and who laboured to uphold a higher standard. The more failure they saw among their brethren, the more closely were they impelled to adhere to Quaker practice and tradition as they had learned it from their elders.

At the Yearly Meeting of 1760 the state of the society came under very serious review, and a large committee, of which Samuel Fothergill was a member, was set apart to go up and down throughout the counties, and to seek to restore the health that was so far lost. At the same time the need for better education of the youth claimed attention. How this latter aim was put forward year after year, and eventually fulfilled by the setting up of Ackworth School at Fothergill's initiative in 1779, will be told in a later chapter. The committee broke up into small groups to visit the several counties or districts. S. Fothergill went to Ireland, where with three other Friends he rode throughout the country during fifty successive days in 1762 visiting all the meetings. Their task was to rouse the brethren: to warn, rebuke, exhort—and sometimes in sharp terms; to restrain the younger and the thoughtless; and to uplift the old standard of a godly life, deep founded on humility and faithfulness. Their text was the acknowledged profession of the society

¹ *Mem. S. Fothergill*, p. 448. The Earl of Chesterfield once said to Edmund Gurney: "The devil has got among you Quakers:—you have lived to convince the world that your principles are right, and now you are quitting them yourselves!"—*The Friend*, Phila. xxxi. 265.

as expressed in its discipline, more especially in the schedule of "Queries"; these dealt with the duties of meetings and of members, and enquired into conduct, behaviour and faithfulness to Friendly principles. No doubt the scope of the committee's work varied in different places. Samuel Fothergill would have his Irish friends to "bear twins": they must uphold the discipline, and they must preach the word. Tradition tells that in some places the visitors had a sterner task; a good many members were disowned, not excepting even the clerk of the meeting.

The restoration of the discipline was the practical aim of the committee. Certain it is that at this period the organisation of the society was perfected and strongly reinforced, and the committee of 1760 had probably the chief influence in this result. The system of Monthly and Quarterly Meetings throughout the British Isles became so methodised and firmly established that it has never since that time shown any material sign of weakening. John Griffith (1764) extols it as "the hedge or wall of good discipline in the Christian Church, as a defence from dangerous enemies." So assured was the Friends' conviction of heavenly guidance and direction in this matter, that it is hardly too much to say that the discipline was in their eyes as much divine as the Law given amid the thunders of Sinai. The Yearly Meeting in 1703 repeated Fox's words: "Our Monthly and Quarterly Meetings being set up by the power and in the wisdom of God." Another feature in the reformed society was the rule of the Elders. These officers were first appointed, as we have seen, about 1727, and they became, as the century passed its middle point, a body in whom rested the chief authority in the congregations, both in meetings for worship and in those for church order—a condition which continued more or less for several generations.

Manuscript collections of minutes of the Yearly Meeting had been drawn up about 1736 and preserved in the various Quarterly Meetings, and these were for long the only records of authority. They were often consulted:

William Cookworthy pleasantly styled them "the Sibylline leaves." In 1762, after the Visitation Committee's labours, these MS. volumes were brought up to date; fresh copies were made, and a Book of Extracts was also printed by John Fry in the same year. Later the Yearly Meeting itself took in hand to make a more complete collection of its minutes, dealing in alphabetical order with the various topics of church practice and with the treatment of delinquencies. Dr. Fothergill took a large share in this work during the last years of his life, though he did not live to see the volume published in the year 1783, under the title of "Extracts from the Minutes and Advices of the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in London from its first institution." It came to be known as the Rules of Discipline, and was the precursor through some eight editions of the Book of Christian Discipline, issued in 1911, which is in use in London Yearly Meeting to-day. It is true that this synopsis of church precept and order did not include, and never has done so, any confession of faith or doctrine such as is usual in other religious bodies; minutes and extracts from Epistles issued by the Yearly Meeting, and one or two notable letters written by George Fox, sufficiently representing the doctrinal principles of the society. But it defined the application of these principles to the affairs of life, and in this way crystallised the approved practices of Friends into a set form. Its authors might have pondered the words of a founder of the Dunker sect, who said that that body, not being sure that they had arrived at the perfection of spiritual knowledge, feared to print their doctrines, lest they should become unwilling to receive further light, and lest their successors should conceive what their elders had done to be something sacred, never to be departed from.¹

The influence of Fothergill seems to have been given, in common with that of his contemporaries, to perfect this process of methodising and organising his religious society. It is remarkable that he never applied to

¹ Franklin, *Autobiog.* ch. viii.

matters of faith that passion for freedom which he showed in things political. But we must remember the corruption of morals in the general community at the period. It might well seem that strait walls—the “fence of the discipline”—were needed to enclose the saints from harm. The work was successful, in that it tended to preserve the society’s life for generations to come little changed. But it was the narrowed life of a small community, hedged in from the world around by its “testimonies” and scruples, and the strictness of its discipline—*mundus mundulus in mundo immundo*—“a clean little world in a world unclean,” as it has been called facetiously in words attributed to Southey. The word “system” came to be used in writing of the society’s polity—“the system propagated by their predecessors”—and something like a pride was taken in the uniformity of its course.¹ Luke Howard wrote of the foundation of Ackworth School as marking an era of reformation in the society. Such an era undoubtedly occurred at this epoch; but it was not due alone to advance in education: other causes must be taken into account, especially the reorganisation of the discipline, the care of the indigent members, and the reflex influence of work in great moral causes, notably the anti-slavery movement, and the provision of schools for the poor. Nor should we omit the Methodist revival, with its close touch on the heart of humanity, and its missionary fervour, for this not only roused the Church of England from its lethargy, but had an influence on the dissenting bodies. Although this influence was not obvious at the time in the case of Friends, who read William Law but stood apart from Wesley, yet it cannot be doubted that the society shared in the accession of spiritual life which the evangelical apostles brought to the community. Its own faith was insensibly quickened and brought into closer relation with the Scriptures and with historical Christianity.

Dr. Fothergill and his brother Samuel drew up about 1769 an account of Quakerism for publication in the first

¹ Lettsom, in *Foth. Works*, iii. pp. xciv, xcv.

edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," and it is of interest to see what they regarded as the essentials of the faith.

They make reference to Sewel's History and Barclay's Apology. An outline is given of the work of George Fox ; it was by the sanctity of his life and the simplicity of his doctrines that he drew together the society. There follows an abstract of Barclay's propositions, showing that happiness consists in the knowledge of God, which is only to be obtained by the revelation of his Spirit ; that this revelation has produced the Scriptures ; that God in his love has offered universal redemption by Christ, who tasted death for every man ; that there is an evangelical and saving light and grace in all men, producing righteousness in those who resist it not, but receive it, and that these may arrive at freedom from sin, yet ever with a possibility of sinning ; that the true minister is prepared by the Spirit, and gives his service freely ; that worship is in spirit, not dependent on place, or on any person, yet public worship is of high utility ; that baptism and the communion of Christ are spiritual ; that no human authority may force the conscience in matters of worship or opinion, except such opinion prejudices a neighbour's life or estate, or is inconsistent with human society ; and lastly that, in order that we may be redeemed from the spirit of the world and attain communion with God, the vain customs and habits of the world are to be rejected.

The economy of the society is particularly described. "Where there are any Quakers they meet together once a month, to consider of the necessities of their poor, and to provide for their relief ; to hear and determine complaints arising among themselves ; to enquire into the conversation of their respective members in regard to morality, and conformity to their religious sentiments ; to allow the passing of marriages, and to enjoin a strict regard to the peace and good order of the society, the proper education of their young people, and a general attention to the principles and practices of their profession." A similar outline is given of the superior meetings, and the reader is called on to "reflect what a number of individuals of both sexes are kept in good order by the police of this society . . . ; how peaceable their behaviour, and how exemplary their conduct." The discipline seems to take no cognisance of any duty on behalf of the world at large, or outside the interests of the church itself. "Perhaps this is the only society in the world," they add, "that has allowed

any share in the management of its affairs to the female sex ; which they do upon the principle that male and female are all one in Christ. Accordingly we find them in every department of their institution. They have women preachers," and women's meetings for discipline.¹

The eighteenth-century Friend, if one may write thus of a period which included more than one epoch, partook of the character of his age. Spiritual gloom in the nation tinged the prevailing tone of religion, and formed a sober foil to the preaching of Whitefield and Wesley. It gave a severe and pessimistic cast to Quaker thought. The faith of the Friend was inherited from a time of more life and light ; tradition had entered into it ; and in the moral corruption of the times the level of his attainment fell. A cleansing of the camp took place, as we have seen, in the middle of the century, and pure spiritual faith never failed, but it had become quietist in type, and it did not escape formality even by the absence of all forms. There was little freedom in his thought, and none in his system. His scruples provoked a smile in his own day, and were indeed carried to an extreme by some of the more literal-minded members, who in their sumptuary zeal laid stress upon unnecessary buttons or upon shades of colour in attire. But this must not be charged to the society as a whole. The hat, unlifted to dame or monarch, the plain-cut coat, gown and bonnet, thee-and-thou language and disuse of heathen names of months and days—such were the ordinary outward tokens of the Quaker. They are now seldom seen, save in some branches of the community in America ; the homely *lingua domestica* is also sometimes cultivated, apart from religious sanction, as a badge of neo-Quakerism.

Yet it would be a mistake lightly to disparage the

¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1st edition), a *Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, Edinburgh, 1771. The article was printed separately and anonymously as *A Brief Account of the People called Quakers, their Doctrines and Discipline, etc.*, in many editions from 1772 to 1797. For the authorship see *Mem. S. Fothergill*, p. 480 note. The Baskerville edition of Barclay's *Apology*, 1766, seems to have been printed under Fothergill's supervision. See MS. Letter from J. Baskerville to Fothergill, with accounts, £242 in all, for printing and paper, in the David Barclay MSS.

Quaker of this century. It must be remembered that these marks of behaviour were linked with a certain truth and simplicity of mind, an aloofness from the ways of the world and a freedom from its conventions. The character they betokened was at its best one of unselfish love. It is true that many of the Friends, though they might still wear the plain coat, were not strict in their ways, and held on to the society by a looser tie. But the assiduity which the loyal member gave to the maintenance of his own church, his zeal for its discipline, his scrupulous attachment to the testimonies which hedged him from the world, the care for his own poor, and for the education of his children,—these held the society together as a compact well-ordered body. Thus preserved it made a contribution of value to the age, for it was a standing witness to the inwardness of religion, to the rule of love in human affairs, to the denial of slavery and of war as institutions, and to the place of woman in the church and in the community.

The English Friend in the latter part of the century was educated, sometimes cultured; a man of truth, whose sober integrity in business was proverbial, and led to the acquisition of wealth.¹ Debarred from public life, he was active in works of benevolence; and although he had little missionary zeal, yet the preaching of "public Friends," alternating as it were with the frequent silent meetings, sought and found an audience amongst the public outside his borders. He did not add to his numbers,

¹ In the history of the Society of Friends the influence of wealth has been great, and has tended to the gradual extinction of much of its original life. It is said that early in this history a play represented the devil reproving the persecutors of the Quakers: Your action, he told them, weans their minds from lower enjoyments, and keeps them low and humble and out of my reach: let them alone, and as they are honest and industrious, they will grow rich, get fine houses and furniture, and lose their humility, becoming like other people, and then I shall have them (MS. Letter from Thomas Nicholson of North Carolina, Frds. Ref. Lib. He heard the story from an ancient Friend in London in 1750). A writer in the *Westminster Review* (Oct. 1875) satirises their profession of literally following the precepts of Christ, when they have been careful, he says, *not* to sell all their goods, and never to lend except on good security, laying up at the same time much treasure upon earth. Yet there have been signal instances of the use of wealth, as in Fothergill's case, for the highest ends.

nor did he seek to do so, but he exercised an influence in the growth of spiritual religion. Many yet prize their memories of the old-fashioned Quaker household—for the type lasted into the next century—with its atmosphere of calm and sweetness, due to an indefinable sense of reserve and of quiet stability in its members ; the outcome of what was called “ recollection ” in silence, of habitual prayer, and of faithfulness in little things. The garb and the language were symbols of a type of spiritual refinement unique in its way.

Fothergill himself might be called a man of the world, in the sense that he moved amongst all classes, and that he took part in some of the best life of his time in scientific and in political circles—“ quaker,” says Vicq d’Azyr, “ sans être trembleur.” But he was a strict Friend, bearing the testimonies of the society in plainness of speech, behaviour and apparel. Such peculiarities were deemed a part of the true growth ; not trees of the forest, but, in S. Fothergill’s picturesque language, as the under-wood of the lofty Lebanon of the Lord. Yet Fothergill’s manner was so engaging, so infused with a spirit of kindness to all, that none took offence. Ridicule sometimes indeed followed him, as is illustrated by a letter which he wrote to Dr. William Hunter about 1769, asking his friend’s influence with Lord Hertford (Lord Chamberlain) to put an end to his being represented in a play “ for the whole town to laugh at ”—a request put forward not only for his own sake but for that of the society to which he belonged.¹ He found in Friendly doctrine and practice the motive and the power for a life of self-denial and of humility, of untiring labour and pure benevolence. The little hedge of Quaker ways he needed, so he seemed to

¹ See Chapter XI., Dr. W. Hunter. The play was perhaps Dibdin’s *The Quaker, a Comic Opera*, which was long a public favourite, and was printed in 1780. It introduced a nonsensical dancing Quaker and others of the sect, a love story, etc. The allusion to Fothergill might be supplied in the acting. See *Gent. Mag.*, 1778, p. 47 ; T. H. Lacey, *Acting Edition of Plays, etc.*, vol. 86. On the 8th Aug. 1759, during the Seven Years’ War, when an express came, telling of the victory at Minden, “ Our City was illuminated from one end to the other, and Jno. Wallis, Doct. Fothergill, Robert Plumstead Besington [?], Doctor Talwyn and severall others grossly abused by breaking their windows ” (Letter of Philip Eliot, in E. Howard, *The Eliot Papers*, 1895, i. 70).

think, that his spirit might be unsoiled. "In morals," says Ruskin, "there is a care for trifles which proceeds from love and conscience, and is most holy; and a care for trifles which comes of idleness and frivolity, and is most base."

Looking back across a period of a century and a half to Fothergill's times, we shall probably find that his work for education and for general philanthropy were his chief contributions to his own people. The example of that work deeply influenced the Society of Friends. There can be little doubt that it did much to lead his fellow-members to take their share too in the burden of the world, and to enter on those labours in the education of the poor, the abolition of slavery, the reform of prisons, and other causes, which distinguished the society in after days. Such philanthropy was distinctive of an epoch in the history of British Quakerism. This is not the place to trace the later course of the society; of its coming, early in the nineteenth century, under evangelical influence, and developing a missionary activity, large for its membership; and of the revival, under the leadership of independent minds, within the present generation, of a Quakerism founded deep on the vision that came to the early Friends, enriched and widened by modern culture. It may be that the Society of Friends is being prepared by discipline and suffering to bear a message to the world after the present war. Some of its ways, particularly the use of silence in worship, have been found by those of other communions "to create an atmosphere in which the sense of the Spiritual in man is set free."¹

¹ Rev. Cyril Hephner, *The Fellowship of Silence*, 1915, p. 19. Fothergill took a generous share in building Westminster Friends' Meeting-House in Peter's Court in 1776, subscribing £314, besides money towards clearing the site, and advancing £1000 (*W. Beck, Lond. Frds. Meet.* pp. 244, 259). A story is retailed in the *Westminster Magazine*, Feb. 1781, that Fothergill, whilst a student at Edinburgh, once walked through the High Street stripped to the waist, denouncing God's vengeance on the inhabitants. No allusion to this can be found in the letters of his student life which are extant. Such public signs were not infrequent in the earliest days of Quakerism, days of a sometimes fanatical enthusiasm, but the act would have been out of keeping with Fothergill's character as shown throughout his life. See M. C. Cadbury's *Robert Barclay*, p. 36. There are letters from Fothergill on church matters in his brother's *Memoirs*, in J. Kendall's *Letters on Religious Subjects*, and in MS. at Frds.

A picture of the Meeting attended by Fothergill whilst he lived in the city has come down to us. It is an oil-painting of Gracechurch Street Meeting, in White Hart Court, about the year 1770, and has been in the possession of the Lucas family of Hitchin for more than a century.

The picture is reproduced here by the kind permission of Theodore Lucas. It is the work of an unknown artist, who is said to have frequented the meeting, attracted by a maiden Friend (seated aloft in the gallery) of whom he was enamoured : he has introduced his own figure, seated on the lowest bench with his arm over the rail. The men Friends in the ministers' gallery are, in order : Isaac Sharples of Hitchin, preaching ; his hat is hung up behind him : then, according to one tradition, Nicholas Waln of Philadelphia, but this is unlikely, as his ministerial visit to England was not until 1783 ; and next to him Samuel Scott, brother of John Scott of Amwell, the poet : then, again traditionally, Samuel Emlen of Philadelphia ; this is possible, but he was a very small man : the next is Robert Letchworth, an aged minister : the next to him is unknown ; and the last figure, on a side seat, his white suit in full view, is probably that of Dr. Fothergill. Below I. Sharples is Thomas Smith, the banker of Lombard Street ; and by his side the little bent form of Nanny Christy, with her white castover, green apron and green mittens. Below T. Smith the neatly attired figure is probably Dr. Lettsom's : it will be noted that the two doctors are so seated as to be readily called out of meeting. Samuel Hoare, the banker, is shown on the upper side seat nearest the gallery ; and his wife in a similar position at the other side of the house, with her three daughters below her ; Sarah (next the pillar), who married Joseph Bradshaw ; Grizzell, who married Wilson Birkbeck, and afterwards William Allen, and lastly Margaret (writer of the Journal), who married Samuel Woods.

The artist probably used a chronological licence in bringing together well-known Quaker figures. Nearly all the men wear wigs, and keep their three-cornered hats on. The women have long poke-bonnets of varying types, some black, some pale in hue. The meeting-house was destroyed by fire in 1821.¹

Ref. Lib., and a letter to Mary Bosanquet is printed in the *Irish Friend* for 1840, p. 43.

¹ See W. Beck, in *Biograph. Catal. Frds. Institute*, 1888, p. 767 ; and in *London Frds. Meetings*, p. 147 ; Jas. Boorne, in *Frds. Quart. Exam.*, 1876, p. 562.



Friends' Meeting, Gracechurch Street, London, about 1770

CHAPTER XX

HOME LIFE IN LONDON

The English mind is homely, intimate and cordial.—ANATOLE FRANCE.

When duty leads, pleasure seldom loiters long behind.—Dr. J. FOTHERGILL, 1766.

Oh London, thou art great in glory, and envied for thy greatness : thy Towers, thy Temples, and thy Pinnacles stand upon thy head like borders of fine gold, thy waters like fringes of silver hang at the hems of thy garments. Thou art the goodliest of thy neighbors, but the proudest ; the wealthiest, but the most wanton. Thou hast all things in thee to make thee fairest, and all things in thee to make thee foulest. —THOMAS DEKKER, 1606.

A PICTURE of the home life at Harpur Street has come down to us in a manuscript journal, written by Dr. Fothergill's niece Betty Fothergill, who with her sister Molly paid a visit of some months to her London relations in the years 1769-70.¹ She came from a country home

¹ Betty Fothergill was the daughter of Joseph Fothergill of Warrington, brother of the doctor : born in 1752, she married in 1770 Alexander Chorley of the same town ; he was later an ironmaster near Ashton in Mackerfield. Her life was one of many cares, borne in a conscientious spirit. She died in 1809, surviving her husband eight years. Out of a large family, three children grew up to adult life. Of these the two sons, John Rutter Chorley and Henry Fothergill Chorley, were known in the literary world as dramatic authors, the latter also as musical critic to the *Athenæum*, a song-writer, and an intimate friend of Dickens. The daughter, Margaret, married in 1815 George Crosfield of Lancaster, who wrote the Memoirs of Samuel Fothergill ; she became the ancestress of numerous Crosfields, amongst whom may be mentioned Jas. B. Crosfield of Reigate, Dr. Jessie Crosfield of Northleigh, Albert J. Crosfield of Cambridge, and John D. Crosfield of Marlborough. The author's cordial thanks are due to the two last mentioned for their friendly offices and encouragement in his present work. The names of Bertram Fothergill Crosfield of Beaconsfield, and his son John Fothergill Crosfield, attest the family connection. Miss Henrietta Crosfield of Liverpool has kindly granted the loan of Betty Fothergill's Journal.

The sister Mary or Molly married Robert Watson of Waterford, and was long well known amongst the Friends in Ireland and England as a minister, "an upright pillar, steadfast in the truth," standing for the good old ways.

at Warrington, a girl of seventeen years, spirited, warm-tempered and impulsive ; and all the sights and interests of London were new to her. Much company, she tells us, came to her uncle's house ; there were often guests to breakfast, and on certain days this meal was especially open to medical visitors and others. Dr. Lettsom, then a young man entering upon practice, was a frequent caller. He was fond of the young ladies, and often escorted them to view the sights of the town, but they smiled at his foibles, which were rather apparent. The two nieces must have been attractive girls, for we read of many young men coming in and out, freely criticised by the pen of the diarist, who tells of the airs of a young fop with his lily-white handkerchief, and of others who were sensible, ill-mannered or stupid. Visitors of a different sort were travelling ministers of the Friends, such as Catherine Payton, of whom we are told "she condescended to speak to me ; the divinity which sits upon her countenance" not hindering her from proving a cheerful companion.

The Fothergills moved in the best Quaker society in the city, then full of the residences of merchants. They visited David Barclay in his fine house in Cheapside, with his consort and lovely daughter Agatha. The Gurneys, the Bevans of Plow Court, John Eliot of Bartholomew Close, Abraham Gray of Newgate Street, the Capel Hanburys of Mark Lane, the Corbyns of Bartholomew Square, the Fosters of Bromley and the Beaufoys of Cuper's Bridge were among their friends, and our young critic passes her ready judgment on all, blaming here and praising there, as she thinks fit.

But neither young nor old are to be compared with her uncle, the doctor. "He received me," she writes, "with that cheerful benignity which is his peculiar character." Fothergill was at this date fifty-seven years of age, and in the full tide of his influence and fame.

She died in 1834. *MS. Testimonies*, vi. 76, Frds. Ref. Lib. A letter from Betty Fothergill to Priscilla Pitts (12.8.1770), describing her journey home, is among the Dimsdale MSS. See also H. F. Chorley, *Autobiography*, 1873.

Little time indeed could he spare to his nieces, besieged as he was by visitors at home and by calls abroad ; but when at last he came in at night, although often very weary, he made " us happy with his enlivening conversation. Surely," she writes, " he is the first of men. With the becoming dignity of age he unites the cheerfulness and liberality of youth. He possesses the most virtues and the fewest failings of any man I know." " When," she says again, " my uncle returned from the meeting, his presence, like the rays of the sun, dispelled every gloomy cloud." One evening he " drew us forth into dispute upon the prerogatives of husbands and wives, insisting upon the blind obedience of the latter to the former : we as strenuously opposed him. After he had diverted us a little he placed the affair upon a proper footing—that there should be no obligation on one side more than on another, but a mutual endeavour to promote each other's happiness. We all concurred in this sentiment, and so the affair was amicably adjusted." Dr. Fothergill's sister, who ordered the busy household, was a person in whom native ability and penetration had overcome the narrowing effects of early training ; she had much entertaining to do, and it was not as a rule until ten o'clock at night, when the nieces had retired, that she could get her quiet *tête-à-tête* with her brother. Full as was their life, it was so well regulated by a spirit of patience and of charity, that the house had, we are told, " a serene atmosphere."

Amongst those who shared Fothergill's hospitality were some men and women of mark and influence outside the Quaker world. Under date of May 18, 1770, the journal notes that " the celebrated Dr. Franklin, who is an intimate friend of my uncle's, stayed most of the afternoon." " My obliging uncle " on another day " entertained us with a view of part of his large collection of paintings. These were of plants and flowers drawn from nature, and finished in the most exquisite manner. This was a feast to Friend Barclay, who possesses herself a masterly pencil. Everybody almost," adds the diarist,

" goes pleased away from visiting my uncle doctor, who studies to gratify their different tastes, and has it in his power to do so. How happy must it make a mind as benevolent as his, at once to oblige people and to do them a real service ! " The household attended " meetings " with diligence : going twice, often three times, on the first day of the week, to Westminster or the Savoy meeting-houses ; as well as on two week-days, when they most commonly joined the throng at Gracious (Grace-church) Street, or attended Devonshire House or Peel. There was no lack of occasions for meditation and calm reflection. Quotations from the " Night Thoughts," and allusions to Thomson and Mrs. Macaulay, " Rasselas " and " The Rambler," suggest the literary atmosphere of the family.

The recreations were, as may be supposed, of a quiet order ; no theatres or concerts, but an occasional outing, to see the queen's elephants and zebra, the wax-works in Fleet Street (no doubt Solomon's, precursor to Madame Tussaud), or an exhibition of foreign paintings in St. Martin's Lane, or again " the [British] Museum, that famous collection of curiosities," then in Montague House, Great Russell Street : strange to add, they also went in the doctor's coach to the Guildhall, to see the Lottery drawn. Another day they viewed a " curious model of Paris " at Exeter Change, or a " collection of dried birds " in Covent Garden.

They were witness too of some stirring scenes, for the metropolis was then a centre of strong political feeling, hostile to the Court. The Londoners were " jealous of the least infringement of their liberty ; they will stick at nothing to defend it." One day they seemed to be " preparing for a universal revel," because " their favourite patriot Wilkes was to be set at liberty from the King's Bench Prison." Again, the sisters saw the king (George the Third) pass to the House of Lords, with Lord Denbigh and the Duke of Ancaster. " He was dressed in pale blue, with his fine (natural or artificial) flaxen hair hanging in graceful ringlets down his back. He was leaning

forward, and speaking with great cheerfulness and unconcern to the noblemen with him. There were none of those acclamations of joy that used to salute the king's ear on his first ascent of the throne, before the machinations of bad ministers had damped the people's affection to the royal person." Another day the king and queen passed in their chairs in the park: the latter looked pale and inanimate, but "the benignity of her character adorns her with a lustre superior to beauty."

From the house of "Friend Post in Thames Street, we had the opportunity of viewing that pompous trifle, the Lord Mayor's Show." It went at the start by water on the river, "the barges proceeding in very irregular order. Its appearance was announced by music and the firing of guns." Another trait in the Londoner of 1770 is not lacking to-day. "There is no city in the world," writes our young diarist, "whose inhabitants have so much curiosity as those of London. A straw will attract the attention of hundreds. If one person will stop to look at anything, he will in a few minutes have a crowd behind him to inspect his studies."

London was already in those days a great city—"this vast place" the journal calls it—yet the country was then still near at hand. The fields and trees that bordered the route westward to Hammersmith reminded the young Lancastrian of her own beloved county. Bloomsbury was a fashionable place; the Duke of Bedford lived in Bloomsbury Square, and the Spanish Ambassador in Great Ormond Street, where the sumptuous mansion of Dr. Mead was still standing. It may comfort the present Londoner to learn that dense fogs occurred then as now: on one day towards November we are told that "almost total darkness prevailed about 11 o'clock in the forenoon," occasioned, the writer thought, by a change of wind, turning the thick clouds of smoke back upon the town; which smoke, she says elsewhere, "dyes all buildings in the city of one black colour."

Fothergill's house in Harpur Street, Bloomsbury, was in the best style of the period, and was new when he

entered it in 1767. It is said to be No. 16, the western of two larger houses which face one another in the middle of the short street. The fourth story displays a moulded pediment, and within the house are a fine curved stone staircase, and in the dining-room an alcove with Ionic columns. There are exquisite mouldings of flowery festoons upon the chimney-piece, and similar adornments of the doorways and window-shutters. The windows of the adjacent houses are so arranged as not to overlook the small garden. Here dwelt the doctor and his sister for thirteen years, with his library and his cabinets ; here he received countless patients, and hardly fewer callers on scientific and benevolent errands. The neighbourhood is changed : fashion has moved westward, and the house was for many years let out in tenements to poor families. It has since been well cleansed and restored, and is now occupied by a Benedictine brotherhood, over whom the learned Abbot, now Cardinal Gasquet, long presided.¹

¹ Fothergill's house was the first to be occupied in the new street named after Sir Wm. Harpur, Lord Mayor in 1562 : his property in this neighbourhood was left to the town of Bedford (Wheatley and Cunningham, *London Past and Present*).



DAVID BARCLAY

(1728-1809)

From an Engraving in the possession of the Friends' Institute, London

CHAPTER XXI

DAVID BARCLAY

A faithful friend is a medicine of life ;
And they that fear the Lord shall find him.
He that feareth the Lord directeth his friendship aright ;
For as he is, so is his neighbour also.

Ecclus. vi. 16. R.V.

DAVID BARCLAY, the most intimate of Fothergill's friends, belonged to a great Quaker house. His grandfather was Robert Barclay of Urie, a Scottish laird of noble ancestry, a man familiar with princes, and a scholar versed in theology. Bred as a Presbyterian, and trained in a Roman Catholic College, R. Barclay gave the adherence of his mature and logical mind to the doctrine of the Friends whilst scarcely more than a boy, and laboured and suffered in their cause. In 1676 at the age of twenty-eight years he published "The Apology for the true Christian Divinity, as the same is held forth and preached by the people called in scorn Quakers"; a famous work, which cast Quaker doctrine into a dogmatic form, and became the acknowledged theological text-book of the society, unchallenged for many generations. His powerful mind and peaceable spirit gave him, until his early death in 1690, a high place among the leaders of the early Friends.¹

Robert Barclay's second son David came to London, and became an opulent linen-draper and merchant. He dwelt in one of the finest houses in the city. After Cheapside had been swept by the Great Fire in 1666, one Edward Waldo, a mercer, bought three sites opposite the

¹ See *Robert Barclay*, by M. Christabel Cadbury, 1912.

church of St. Mary-le-bow, and built upon them "a great messuage" known by the sign of the Bear. Hither came King Charles II. and his suite in 1671 to view the Lord Mayor's Show, the first held since the Fire, seating themselves on a balcony under a canopy of state. On a later visit Waldo was knighted by the king. William and Mary seem to have come to the house in like manner to see the Show in 1689, and Queen Anne in 1702. When Barclay occupied the building, it contained warehouse, counting-houses, parlour and kitchen on the ground floor, and a large drawing-room with balcony on the next story. Here Barclay and his family had the pleasure of entertaining on Lord Mayor's Day two British kings in succession. An account has come down to us of the visit of George III. in 1761. As Barclay declined any more conspicuous honour, he and his family were allowed as a mark of the king's favour to kiss hands without kneeling. The king and his young and gracious bride were most affable, staying over four hours in the house, kissing the children, and remaining behind without any guards, after sending away their nobles. Ten dozen of wine was sent in by the city, but the king tasted nothing, nor did he sit down the whole time. The queen drank tea. The puritan maidens in their simple Quaker attire, like a parcel of nuns amidst the glittering company, seemed to charm by contrast. A company of life-guards was drawn up by royal order opposite the house all night, in case the mob should injure the rich damasks and other adornments of the canopy.¹

¹ The house, No. 108 Cheapside, is readily recognised in old views of Bow Church as a tall square mansion opposite the church, standing detached, higher and wider than its neighbours; the ground-floor shop projects forward under the balcony and the four upper stories, with their rows of tall oblong windows. It must have occupied the site of Messrs. Benetfink's warehouse. The house was pulled down in 1861: the dark oak panelling of the dining-room, carved in fruit and foliage, perhaps by Grinling Gibbons, was taken to Gungrog Hall, Welshpool, now in the possession of Mr. Morris Paterson Jones. The panels are still in good condition: around the fireplace is a design of oak-leaves and acorns. See Collection of Prints (Cordwainer Ward) in the Guildhall Library; J. G. Nichols, *Herald and Genealogist*, ii. 237, reviewing M. C. Jones's *Notes respecting the Family of Waldo*, 1863; *Gent. Mag.*, 1808, ii. 1068-1070; *Tritton, the Place and the Family*, pp. 287 ff., where several accounts of George III.'s visit are quoted; Bidwell, *Annals of an East Anglian*

By his second wife, Priscilla, a daughter of the banking-house of Freame (afterwards Barclay), David Barclay became in 1728 the father of the subject of this chapter. David Barclay the second succeeded his father in the family house in Cheapside. He also was a merchant and chiefly engaged in the American trade, but he relinquished business when the war began ; he was, however, a partner in the banking-house, afterwards so closely connected with his family, and part owner of Barclay and Perkins' Brewery, from which he derived a large income. A man of integrity and of a singularly clear and even mind, he early won the esteem both of his own people and of the public. With his elder friend Fothergill he worked side by side in many good causes and in much mutual confidence. Their temperaments were complementary : whilst Fothergill was quick and sensitive, Barclay was deliberate, a man of common-sense, and if he had not the far vision of his friend, he was not less loyal to the call of conscience.

He married in 1749 Martha Hudson, the daughter of John Hudson of London and Bush Hill, of a propertied Quaker family. She was of delicate health, and a patient of Fothergill's, who is said himself to have felt an early special regard for her ; he wrote her before her marriage an interesting letter of advice, which will be found in an appendix (B) to this volume. She bore two daughters to David Barclay, but died while they were still children. As these girls grew up, they engaged the tender care of a father who had not only large means but liberal and just ideas. He drew up in 1763, the year of his wife's death, a memorandum for the use of their governess Bridget Seymour, who was a member of the national church ; it is worthy of notice, as a specimen of the thought which underlay what may be termed the best aristocratic Quaker life of the middle of the eighteenth century. He begins upon religion, and it is interesting to see what the

Bank, pp. 27-33 ; S. Lloyd, *The Lloyds of Birmingham*, pp. 37-39. The story sometimes told of Barclay's addressing the king as "George, and thy wife Charlotte," is improbable.

grandson of the Apologist regarded as the essence of Quakerism.

As the duty we all owe to the Supreme Being should ever be esteemed our principal and most essential object, I would have that first in remembrance. And here it may be necessary to remark on the profession I have been educated in, which is now the religion of my judgment ; not that I mean to reflect on any other Society, or is an attempt to make converts my motive. Our religion is neither confined to person, time nor place ; our belief is, that every one born into the world has a Monitor in his own mind, which you may term, either a manifestation of the Spirit of God, or the Light of Christ in our own Consciences, or that Grace and Truth, which is so often repeated in the Scriptures ; which Monitor, if fervently sought after and attended to, will point out to every individual, every duty, spiritual and temporal. The former duty respects the worship of God, in its own spiritual nature, as enforced by Scripture ; and this leads us to believe silent worship acceptable to the Creator. The latter we comprise in the following :

Doing to others as we would be done by,
Loving our neighbour as ourselves,
Returning good for evil,
And taking up a daily Cross.

The first may be easily attained, but the others are so difficult to accomplish that they must not be esteemed the test of every Quaker.

It is from these sources arises the whole system of the Friends' religion. And altho' universal charity leads me to be persuaded, that numbers who think it right to steer other courses will meet at last in the same haven of rest ; yet as I think this path most agreeable to Scripture and Reason, I am anxious for my children to pursue it in preference to any other ; for altho' I am far from being zealous about many externals, in which some amongst us think it their duty to dissent from the world, I have it not less at heart that the principles of our religion should be implanted in the minds of my daughters. I expect you to encourage the careful perusal of the Scriptures, which my daughters have been deeply engaged in from infancy, and by example from their dear Mamma, it is now become their daily pleasure, as it was hers : especially those parts of Scripture which contain the most clear and determinate rules for a Christian life. Further

instructions in Religious Sentiments I take to my own share. I shall often advise them before they close their eyes to reflect on the past transactions of the day ; nothing tending more to the amending of errors than being first convinced we have committed them. I desire you will sometimes remind them of this ; it will I hope lead them to fervently desire the protection of Providence. This we think answers a better end than directing children to say formal prayers.

He goes on to speak under several heads of the moral virtues and practices.

“ *Modesty*,” he says, “ is the brightest ornament of a woman through every stage of her life. As I am satisfied that my daughters innately possess it, let the protection of this virtue be your first and chiefest care. Defend them from every appearance of indelicacy with the same precaution as from anything esteemed criminal.” *Truth* is the first-fruits of religion : paint her in her brightest colours, as including not only sincerity but candour and frankness. “ Teach them to abhor detraction, the sin of fallen angels, yet too often the companion of the tea-table.” In regard to *Temper*, preserve a tranquil state of mind, as advantageous for the receiving of instruction.

Riches are given for other uses than indulgence : his daughters are to know that they are stewards for the poor. In *Dress* moderation, neatness and delicacy to be attained in every point, even to a fault, yet with dispatch, not devoting large portions of time better used in adorning their minds. Everything undertaken to be properly performed, with no excuse on account of hurry. Particularly, “ prevent if possible my daughters from falling into the prevailing bad custom ” of taking snuff ; do not hire a servant that uses it. *Cards* were originally innocent, but are “ now become the greatest vice of the age.” Let his daughters “ not be ashamed of declaring in all companies that they despise them, and if this is done *with spirit* it will carry conviction, and they will gain admirers.”

In *Behaviour*, promote a free, easy, unaffected affability, the sure mark of a well-bred woman. A ready expression and a certain degree of confidence are necessary to defend themselves against impertinence. Teach them to use the same manners when by themselves and in company, to treat inferiors with respect, never to interrupt, and to recollect

themselves for a moment before speaking. "This will prevent their ever saying a foolish thing or doing a bad one." Let them never act contrary to the conviction of their own minds on any motive *whatever*. "For although this conviction is often disregarded, it seldom fails to return in the cool of the day, and to embitter every sweet obtained contrary to its dictates." *Dancing* they had learned a little to obtain graceful deportment only. The sole *Punishment* he had used was declining to give them his conversation, never his company. The instructions close with a few words on cultivating the memory of their beloved Mother.

The elder daughter died in girlhood. The younger, Agatha, lived to rejoice the hearts of her parents; for Barclay took a second wife, Rachel Lloyd, in 1767. We get a view of Agatha Barclay in 1770, as she appeared to an acquaintance. She was, we are told, a lovely girl, even more in character than in form, diffident, good-natured, well-informed: "nature and fortune have liberally bestowed their gifts" upon her; these "will always secure for her the admiration of men, but none will deserve her who do not yet more value her sweet simplicity and goodness of heart."¹

Agatha Barclay married in 1773 Richard Gurney, and bore him two children. She seemed to have reached the summit of earthly bliss, when every wish was completed. Few more pathetic journeys are recorded than that of David Barclay, three years later, when he took Dr. Fothergill with him post haste, to see his sick daughter at her home at Keswick Hall. The beautiful young life was over before they could arrive. The father, we are told, calmly requested to be taken to the remains of his beloved and only child, and after contemplating the scene for some moments, he said, "It was best it should be so." From the father's noble example the husband derived fortitude. "All Norwich mourned her loss in sackcloth and ashes."² The care of the two young grandchildren was a solace to Barclay in later years.

¹ *MS. Journal* of Betty Fothergill.

² *MS. Journal* of Esther Tuckett, attending London Yearly Meeting, May 1776; *MS. Journal* of Sarah Champion, 1776.

When the merchants of London were examined at the bar of the House of Commons in 1776 on the effect of the Stamp Act upon British trade, several Friends gave evidence, and Barclay amongst them; of whom Lord North is stated to have said that he had derived more information from him than from all others east of Temple Bar.

Barclay took part with Fothergill in two works of much moment, of which we shall write later: the peace negotiations with Franklin and Lord Hyde in 1774-75; and—the crowning effort of Fothergill's life—the foundation of Ackworth School, a cause in which Barclay's zeal and labour were only second to his friend's.

After he retired from his merchant's business, Barclay lived in Red Lion Square during four months of the year, spending the rest of the time at a country house at Youngsbury or Thundridge Bury, near Ware, and moving towards the end of his life nearer town, to Walthamstow. He had a large correspondence, taking a steady and generous interest in religious and philanthropic causes, especially in the Abolition of Slavery, to the close of his long life. In 1795 he sent out a special emissary to Jamaica, to liberate thirty slaves on a property which had fallen to him as owner; he had them sent on a vessel chartered for the purpose to Philadelphia, and there put out by Friends as apprentices on equitable terms; the cost to himself was about £3000.¹

Barclay exercised a benevolent influence in his own neighbourhood, in which his wife fully shared until her death in 1792. A Home of Industry was set up near their residence at Walthamstow, and served a useful purpose: to its support he devoted for several years a large sum of money. As a Quaker he was of course debarred from holding any public office. In 1796 he wrote a memorandum for the Board of Agriculture, in which he advised that some of the waste lands which were to be enclosed should be used for the growth of timber;

¹ *An Account of the Emancipation of the Slaves of Unity Valley Pen, in Jamaica*, by David Barclay, 2nd ed. with Appendix. London, 1801.

that trees should not be planted in hedgerows; and that grass should be laid down along the borders of cornfields.

Very characteristic of his well-regulated mind is a printed paper of "Advice to Servants" attributed to his hand. It is full of wise moral counsel, yet it reads strangely in these days, dealing as it does with a frankly subordinate class of persons, with scarcely any independent interest of their own.¹

Barclay was a fine example of the philanthropic phase of Quakerism in the latter half of the eighteenth century. He had a noble form and presence, and his qualities of mind and heart accorded with it. If he did not wholly escape the benumbing influence of great wealth, his manners were simple, he was just, generous, hospitable and kindly, and he passed through life unblamed, and with a certain reasoned tranquillity, so that when the end came in 1809 at eighty years of age, he seemed rather to cease to live than to undergo the pang of death. He is said to have acted (as did Dr. Thomas Denman) to some extent as his own executor, distributing his ample fortune to his relatives, and having the pleasure of seeing them well established during his own lifetime.

The son of his beloved daughter, Hudson Gurney, was his principal heir. Upon this talented youth Barclay had lavished much care, inviting a companion—a brilliant prodigy of learning—afterwards famous as Dr. Thomas Young, the physicist and Egyptologist, to be educated with him. A scholarly young man, already under his friendly notice, was engaged by Barclay as their tutor: this was John Hodgkin, afterwards father of Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, the pathologist, and of John Hodgkin of Tottenham and Lewes. Gurney grew up a highly trained and accomplished man, but his severance from the Quaker faith in 1804 was a sore grief to his elder relative. As the inheritor of a fortune he had perhaps the less incentive for the full use of his talents, yet he was well known in

¹ A copy is in the Frds. Ref. Lib.

after life as banker, traveller, archæologist, politician and scholar. He died in 1864.¹

¹ Hudson Gurney's only sister, Agatha, the best and most beautiful woman he had ever seen—so her brother wrote—married Sampson Hanbury of Poles, near to Youngsbury; he was the son of Osgood Hanbury. On David Barclay, see article in the *Morning Chronicle*, June 5, 1809, reprinted in Chambers's *Edinburgh Journal*, 1849, "and we trust," it is added, it "will be reprinted from time to time for centuries to come"; *Gent. Mag.*, 1792, 581; 1809, 585; *Mem. S. Fothergill*, p. 452; *Biograph. Catalogue*, Frds. Institute, London. Some of his letters are printed in Franklin's *Works*; see also the *David Barclay MSS.* in possession of J. H. Gurney, Keswick Hall; others at Frds. Ref. Lib.; Letters to Lord Hardwicke and Arthur Young, Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 35644, etc.; and MS. Autobiography of John Hodgkin (the elder). There is a large engraved portrait of D. Barclay by Earlom after Houghton at Barclay's Bank, London, also at Frds. Institute, London, reproduced in this work.

CHAPTER XXII

ACKWORTH SCHOOL

Ought not the educating and training of the youth to be, next to our more immediate duty to God, the chief concern of every [Friend]? What a beautiful and noble prospect do such thoughts open to the view! Our principles, which, in the present corrupt state of the world, seem to prohibit our meddling with offices, etc., naturally point to us as a people, rather than others, to serve God and our country in the education of the youth. It is a situation not likely to procure riches, ease or worldly honour. But what have we to do with these things? Is it a time to seek for money or olive yards or oxen? Any person of tolerable morals who can read and write is esteemed sufficiently qualified for a schoolmaster; when indeed the best and wisest men are but sufficient for so weighty a charge. If the governments of this world were influenced by true wisdom they would have made the proper education of the youth their first and special care.—ANTHONY BENEZET, 1758.

THE Friends early saw the importance of the education of the young. Some of the leaders, such as Barclay, Penn, Penington and Ellwood, were highly educated men. George Fox himself was devoid of much scholastic training or literary form, yet his own self-culture and his large vision of human needs made him set a high value on school teaching. In the year 1667 he recommended the setting up of boarding-schools for boys and girls near London for their instruction "in all things civil and useful in the Creation." The schools thus established at Waltham and at Shacklewell, with a good many others which followed in different parts of the kingdom, were mainly for those who could pay fees; but efforts were made to care for the children of poorer Friends at day-schools which were sometimes held in meeting-houses. Fifteen Friends' schools were reported to the Yearly Meeting of 1691: that at Penketh, Lancashire, survives



FORT MIFFLIN, PHILADELPHIA.

to this day. The Charity schools of that period were strictly regulated by the Church of England, and therefore inapplicable to Friends. John Bellers' Proposals for raising a College of Industry (1696) led to the establishment in 1702 of a Friends' Labour School at Clerkenwell, which was afterwards moved to Islington. This school or workhouse, to which Fothergill acted in later years as physician, imperfectly fulfilled the aim of its founders, yet it was an example to others and not without influence in the community.¹

The means of education were however very inadequate in the large community of Friends during the first half of the eighteenth century. The universities were closed to them, and they feared too the pride of human learning. A time of ease had succeeded to suffering; industry and integrity promoted business, and wealth increased, but those who like Fothergill sought a high standard of life were uneasy at the ignorance and apathy which existed amongst many Friends. He saw clearly that the maintenance of the society both in England and in America in a sound condition depended greatly on the training of its youth, and that human knowledge was a help and no hindrance to spiritual strength and insight. Writing to his friend James Pemberton in Philadelphia in 1758, to introduce a new Quaker schoolmaster, "I could wish," he says, "to see free schools erected, for Friends' children only, in different parts of England. Where the Quarterly Meetings are small, I would have two or more join to raise from £30 to £50 yearly, to give to some Friend schoolmaster, who should teach all that came gratis, but might have the benefit of boarding. I could wish that the like might be early introduced with you." If Friends would purchase tracts of land and join them to the schools, the expense would be light, and posterity become great gainers. Where there were settled lucrative posts there would be candidates for them, and one school would breed others.

Anthony Benezet in the same year defined in an

¹ *Saffron Walden School, a Sketch of 200 Years* [1902], p. 15.

excellent letter the need of education in the church, and the high duty of providing it. In 1769 an attempt was made by the Pembertons, Logans and other leading Friends in Philadelphia to set up a small and select boarding-school near that city, which should give their sons the advanced teaching that they had hitherto sent them to Europe to obtain. But it came to nothing: perhaps the times were too disturbed. That the path of the educator was often hard may be judged from the words of Governor Berkeley of Virginia, who wrote about 1670: "I thank God there are no free schools, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world."¹

The need of better education came year after year before the annual meeting in London. In 1758 the counties were asked to render an account of all schools in their several districts. Answers were received and digested, and a scheme prepared, under which subscriptions were to be raised and a boarding-school started. Fothergill presented the report to the Yearly Meeting of 1760; it was approved and sent down to the Quarterly Meetings. But there was scarcely any response² and little encouragement to Fothergill's hope, privately expressed, "that step by step a foundation may be laid, giving the youth of our society as good an education as many think fit to give their dogs and horses"; for the children have, he said, much less expense bestowed upon them. Yet he was not deterred.

As years passed by and the counties did nothing, it became clear that the Yearly Meeting itself, the head and centre of the society, must act. A proposal for a Boarding School "for the education of children whose parents are not in affluence" was laid before the Yearly

¹ MS. Letter, J. F. to J. Pemberton, 25.9.1758, Etting MSS.; Benezet, in *Mem. S. Fothergill*, p. 362, and see at head of this Chapter; *The Friend*, Phila. lxxxviii. 485; Berkeley, in F. P. Graves, *A Students' History of Education*, 1915, p. 192.

² The York Q.M. School Fund was instituted; also a small school at Gildersome, near Leeds.

Meeting of 1777, and referred for action to the Meeting next year. Fothergill's mind was much occupied with the project. The school must be in healthy surroundings, in the country, in a place where provisions were in plenty, and not far from Friends. It should give a sound, simple education, the children being trained in habits of obedience and accustomed to restraint.

Later in the year, whilst travelling in Yorkshire, the doctor heard that a large building at Ackworth in that county was for sale. It was a strong stone edifice with wings, easily accommodating three hundred children, and had been set up by the Foundling Hospital in London some eighteen years before as a country branch of that institution, at a cost, including land, of £17,000. Good work had been done in it for some thousands of children, although sickness and other difficulties had hindered, but after a time the government grants failed and the place had to be closed. The house had been empty for five years, and foxes, it is said, reared their young cubs in its empty corridors. "Why may not this," said Fothergill, "serve the very purpose I am in pursuit of?" The place was examined and approved. Prompt action was necessary: the premises were purchased, with eighty-four acres of land; a number of Friends, no doubt including Fothergill and David Barclay, guaranteeing the price, £7000. Deliberate consultations and committees, after the Friends' manner, followed, in all of which Fothergill took a large share. There were many difficulties to be overcome. "It will be a long time," he wrote, "before I shall be able to prevail on many whom it concerns to enter thoroughly into my wishes to promote this establishment; and the times are against me; yet I am not apt to despair. I have contended with difficulties, as every man who travels on this globe must do cheerfully. I knew they were wisely allotted to us."

At the next Yearly Meeting in 1778, Fothergill proposed the scheme, and much time was given to its examination. A report was brought in by William Tuke of York, who applied his strong practical mind to education with a

keen interest that was to become hereditary in his family : he had an able colleague in John Hustler. The purchase was explained and discussed ; objections were met ; and the concern solidly weighed and approved. Then " Friends seemed to vie with one another," writes Fothergill, " in their generous efforts." A large sum was at once raised, partly in the form of donations, and partly in " annuities "—being sums subscribed subject to 5 per cent interest during the lifetime of the giver and sometimes of one or more relatives. In the course of the next twelve years a total of some £12,500 was subscribed, besides £4500 subject to annuities. Fothergill and David Barclay gave £300 each, and £200 annuities. Fothergill bequeathed in addition £100 per annum for a period of five years, and £50 per annum in perpetuity, an income still enjoyed by the school.¹

¹ The following sums were given by other Friends : £200 annuities : Thomas Broadbank of Tottenham, George Croker Fox of Falmouth, Foster Reynolds of Mitcham. £200 donations and £100 annuities : John Eliot and James Vaston of London, also Brown, Collinson and Tritton (two annuities). £200 donations : Smith, Wright and Gray of London, Thomas Clark of Plymouth Dock, and Richard Reynolds of Shropshire. £100 donations and £100 annuities : Abraham Gray, Samuel Hoare, Daniel Mildred, Henry Sterry and Isaac Walker, all of London ; John Gurney, sen., of Norwich. £100 donations : Mark Beaufoy, Joseph Hooper, Hannah Harman, John Masterman, Edward Shewell and Abjohn Taylor, of London ; Anna Barnard of Surrey, Hester Donne of Bristol, Sarah Darby of Shropshire, " A Friend," Samuel Galton, jun., of Birmingham, Edmund Gurney and Richard Gurney of Norwich, and Henry Gray of Hunts. £100 annuities : Richard Chester, John Chorley (Fothergill's nephew), Thomas Corbyn, Samuel Hoare, jun., Jonathan Hoare, and Thomas Hoare, all of London ; John Allis of Hertford, Thomas Bradley of Southwark, Richard Brewster of Bury, Deborah Coxhead, Samuel Darby of Coalbrook Dale, Gabriel Goldney of Clifton, William Hamilton, Thomas Henderson of Scarborough, Richard Low of Dover, John Massey of Spalding, Hannah Pritchard of Leominster, John Routh of Manchester, Samuel Scott of Hertford, John Stephenson of Stockton, William Thurnham of York, Thomas Tritton of Battersea, and George Wakefield of North Shields.

Other names of liberal contributors were : Bevan, Bland, Bush, Hagen, Kaye, Lister, Marshman, Neal, Neatby, Plumsted, Pryor and Weston, all of London ; Buttery of Bainton, Cockfields of Barking and Stockton, Dickinsons of Beverley and Chippenham, Beck, Harford and Peters of Bristol, Rickman of Chichester, Lindley of Darlington, Payton of Dudley, Backhouse of Durham, Dicker and Sanders of Exeter, Kendal of Giggleswick, Leach of Hants, Dykes of Ipswich, Bradford and Dillworth of Lancaster, Whitelock of Leeds, Wadkins of Manchester, Marriott of Mansfield, Roper of Norwich, Leaver of Nottingham, Boulter of Ramsey, Morris of Reading, Benson of Stang End, Inman of Wales, Portsmouth of Whitechurch, Holdship of Worcester, Barlow and Birkbeck of Yorks, Alexander, Arthington, Bateman, Chapman, Collier, etc.—*Reports of Ackworth School, 1780-1791*. The sums named would be equivalent in value to perhaps double these amounts to-day.

Much had now to be done. A London committee was appointed, to which John Chorley, Fothergill's nephew, acted as secretary. The house must be furnished; a tenant obtained for the land—the pew-rights in the church were relinquished; a Friend to have charge of the garden and its produce for the school use; and, most important of all, a responsible master and mistress must be found. A grave leisured Friend was sought for, who would come without salary, or “a sober couple, frugal, sensible and religious”: the teaching, which was very elementary, could be supplied by younger persons. Fothergill and Barclay worked together in close intimacy and consultation on these matters. “Which of us should do it? it ought to be done,” writes Fothergill, in the course of a long letter in October, concerned with the many details that had to be thought of: bills of admission for the children (eight guineas paid for education board and clothing for a year, and this thought to be too high by some), staff of helpers and their functions, clothing of scholars, minute to inform country meetings, finance, and applications to wealthy Friends: (“Kindly be pleased to set them a good example: Providence has prospered thee,” he writes to Zachariah Cockfield.) There is a note of his tired yet indefatigable mind in the concluding words of his letter: “I had something else to say, but it is gone from me: one thing however I hope will never leave me whilst I retain my understanding—a fervent wish for thine and thy consort's happiness, both here and hereafter. Farewell. J. Fothergill.”

The first “General Meeting” was held at Ackworth from the 29th to the 31st of July 1779, and the plans set in order. On the 18th October the school was opened, under the care of John Hill, treasurer and superintendent, his wife Judith Hill mistress of the family, and Hannah Little, teacher. John Hill was induced to come for a few weeks, and stayed ten years. The doctor visited the house ten months later, accompanied by his faithful sister, whose interest in the project was no less than his own: she dreamed of it, so she writes in her journal,

almost every night. They found 150 boys and 80 girls, "already moulded into excellent order, clean and attentive." "Teachers we are making as fast as we can." The boys were taught reading, writing and keeping accounts; the girls needlework, spinning and housewifery in addition: "a numerous and orderly family"—for a *family* it was to be from the outset, ruled by the law of kindness.

In a letter to the well-known Dr. Priestley, Fothergill sets forth the object of the training given; it was to build up Christian lives, "to establish young minds in Truth," not to add to the consequence of a sect, or to reflect upon our fellow-professors; to teach the children to "act so as to avoid the reproaches of their own minds," and to come "to feel interior approbation." They were to be habituated to silence and attention. "The most ancient schools of philosophy taught and practised" such habits, and the Scriptures were full of the like precepts. He hoped the example of the school might be of use to future generations. The aim of Ackworth, new in the society's history, was to provide a careful elementary education to the rank and file of the membership, those "not in affluence," and to girls as well as boys.

There was a further idea in Fothergill's mind not realised in his day. He longed for a school or college where advanced training could be given under Friendly auspices, and he thought it possible that this might be included in the new plan: "that in process of time we should have at Ackworth an Academy, in which the first amongst us may receive a more learned education than we now can give."¹

To aid the teaching of the Bible he had an abstract made of Dean Percy's "Key to the New Testament," with the author's consent, and published it with a preface

¹ George Harrison, afterwards of Wandsworth, relates that as a boy he was leaving Penketh School to become a teacher. Fothergill heard of him from his brother, S. Fothergill, and proposed that he should spend six months at the Academy at Warrington to gain instruction in the method of teaching, himself cheerfully defraying the expense—a phrase he often used.—G. Harrison, *Mem. of W. Cookworthy*, 1854, p. 137.

from his own pen. This little volume gave in a scholarly but concise form a good account of the books of the Testament, and was long in use at the school.¹

Fothergill's last visit to Ackworth, two months before his death, gave him heartfelt satisfaction: he "rejoiced with a degree of trembling," when he saw the complete state of the institution, for which he had spent so much time and labour during the preceding two years.

Nor was Barclay behind his friend in devotion to the school. He had a house at this time at New Millar's Dam, near Wakefield, and spent some months there that he might visit Ackworth and watch closely over its development. To Fothergill belongs the initiation, the fruit of no sudden impulse, but of long years of thought and effort on his part. A place of honour next only to that of Fothergill is due to the patient orderly labour of David Barclay. To him the monitors of the boys' side addressed a very proper and elegantly written letter, probably in 1780.

ESTEEMED FRIEND—Thy kind and acceptable Letter, we duly received. . . . We shall be glad to be favoured with thy company, whenever thou canst make it convenient. . . . The Flower Seeds which thou purposest to bring with thee will be very acceptable, and hope thou will find many Lads' Gardens in such Order, as will be deserving of so great a favour. The Flower Roots which were the Gift of our Valuable Friend Doctor Fothergill we had the pleasure to receive, a Present very agreeable, and more so being the Gift, of so Worthy a Benefactor. We hope we shall use our Endeavours to . . . give satisfaction to our Friends and Spectators.

We are, for Schoolfellows and Selves, Thy affectionate Young Friends,

SAMUEL DAY.

JOHN STORRS.

DAVID HOLT.

GEORGE STACEY.

JOSHUA PRIESTMAN.

JOHN KNIGHT.

SAMUEL BLECKLEY.

WILLIAM HANDVILL.

NICHOLAS STICKNEY.

JOHN KING.

SAMUEL DING.

In 1799 David Barclay, in conjunction with Isaac Smith's

¹ *A Short Account of the Several Books of the New Testament from Dr. Percy's Key. For the use of Ackworth School.* London, 1780, pp. 127.

executors and Isaac Walker, established the Ackworth Boys' Fund, the income of which is applied for assisting in the apprenticeship equipment or further training of boys educated at Ackworth.¹

The school prospered well. When Sir Rowland Winn of Nostell, who had been a zealous supporter of the Foundling Hospital, came in one day and saw the boys at dinner, he was affected to tears : " Why," said he, " could we not have our children as happy and healthy as these ? "

Thomas Scattergood in 1799 describes the " wonderful machinery " of the boys' side of the school : twelve monitors, with a host of inspectors under them, reported to the master on duty one day in the week previous to the giving out of the *spice* (probably various groceries), one-half or all of which might be forfeited as a penalty. Equality and harmony prevailed, an admirable foundation for a noble and erect carriage, and for establishing the habit of valuing men not by wealth or rank but by virtue and talent.² About 1816 systematic Bible study was introduced in the school through the influence of Joseph John Gurney, who took an earnest interest in its welfare throughout thirty years. Pilkington visited the school in 1834, and was greatly struck by its family character and by the order and restraint in the manners of the children ; in their silent grace before meals they seemed, he writes, to be thinking without saying what some too often say without thinking. The " Teacher on Duty " occupied " an elevated spot of ground on which he walked backwards and forwards like a sentinel." ³

The foundation of Ackworth School gave a stimulus and a pattern to the communities of Friends everywhere in the work of education. The Irish Quakers had long been exercised in efforts to meet the needs of their children. But after this date the matter was taken up with fresh zeal, and between 1786 and 1798 Friends' Boarding-Schools were instituted in the three provinces of Leinster,

¹ Barclay contributed one-third part of the total sum of £2400 3 per cent Annuities, as well as £105 to the Girls' Fund.

² *Friend*, Phila. lxxviii. 374.

³ G. Pilkington, *Travels through the United Kingdom*, 1839, pp. 54, 55.

Ulster and Munster, and continue to flourish to this day.

Friends were moving also in a like manner in several parts of America. Their efforts in some of the provinces had had Fothergill's sympathy and practical aid. New England Yearly Meeting in 1780 decided to found a boarding school, and in its letter issued in 1782 makes much reference to Ackworth, with large quotations from Fothergill. A school was in consequence opened at Portsmouth, Rhode Island, in 1784, which, though it lasted only a few years, was the precursor of the large and well-known Friends' School at Providence, at this day under the care of Seth K. Gifford. A plan for a school in New York was formulated in 1781; it became eventually the foremost public school in that city, and still pursues, under John L. Carver and Alice S. Palmer, a useful career as the Friends' Seminary. The excellent school at Westtown, Pennsylvania, instituted in 1799, after T. Scattergood had spent some months at Ackworth, was planned after its pattern, but adapted to the more democratic ways of America.¹ George L. Jones is the present superintendent.

The Friends' Schools which were afterwards set up in England at Sidcot, Wigton, Croydon (successor to the Islington school already spoken of, and afterwards moved to Saffron Walden), and elsewhere, upon the Ackworth model, did not lessen the number of its scholars. The boarding-school system had become part of the life of the society, and it has had no doubt a great influence in its continuance.

The schools gave not only to the middle class of Friends but to the poorest members a good education, nearly a hundred years before this was attained by the community in general. It was a "guarded education": perhaps this was not so unmixed an advantage as was thought, but it helped to keep very many within the

¹ *Letter from the Meeting for Sufferings for New England to the several Quarterly and Monthly Meetings*. Providence, 1782; R. M. Jones, *Quak. in Amer. Col.* p. 261; *The Friend*, Phila. *loc. cit.*; W. W. Dewees, *Hist. Westtown School*.

fold; it promoted friendships and intermarriages, and was a chief cause in making the society like one large family—a feature which still in some measure belongs to it. The system may have lessened parental responsibility in some degree, especially when, as in the early times at Ackworth, children spent six or seven years continuously at the school without vacation.¹ Upon the whole this form of education has effected much good, and no one has more right to be looked upon as its author than John Fothergill.

The zeal of Friends for education did not stop at the provision for the needs of their own members. Not long after Fothergill's time the efforts which had already been made in many places to set up small schools for the poor received a great impetus through the enthusiasm of a Friend, Joseph Lancaster. The Royal Lancasterian Society was founded about 1808, and great numbers of poor children were brought under teaching. Lancaster had the defects of an ardent nature; he was thriftless and contentious, and hindered his own cause. His action led to a long controversy, the Church of England supporting another school reformer, Bell, who put forward a rival system. We can now see that the work of both Lancaster and Bell was of high value; they were pioneers in public elementary education. From their time the movement spread, long maintained by voluntary agencies, until in 1870 the British state itself took up the duty, under the leadership of one trained as a Friend, W. E. Forster, and set up the present system of national education. In America, education was brought under central control at about the same period.

The following verses were written by the late Frederic Taylor of Sunderland to grace the Centenary of Ackworth School in 1879:

Crowns for the athlete, wreaths of fragrant bay
To bind the poet's brow, victorious palm

¹ Jacob Bright, father of John Bright, was an early scholar, and spent five years at Ackworth without holiday.

For conqueror's hands, for men of peace the calm
 Of peaceful lilies. At the shrine to-day,
 O loved physician, of thy worth, we lay—
 We, who from near and far in concord meet
 This hundredth birthday of thy fame to greet—
 Nor crown nor fading garland ; nought can pay
 For love but answering love : these courts of stone
 Found at thy searching in the breezy north
 Will speak thy eulogy when we are at rest.
 And when another century hath flown,
 From her grey halls shall Ackworth still send forth
 Children who shall arise and call her blest.

To-day the school yet thrives under the able care of Frederick Andrews, and accommodates 180 boys and 120 girls : there are seldom vacant places. The excellent original buildings still form the centre, around which many others have grown up ; their dark grey sandstone is well worn, and gives an air of antiquity to the chambers and stairways : some of the rooms are still used for the same purposes as at first. But the school has developed with the times, and is now well equipped with the best appliances : numerous bathrooms, a large swimming-bath with its aëerator, a steam fire-engine, and an ample gymnasium belong to a later age than Fothergill's, as do laboratories for chemistry and for physical and domestic science, music rooms, an art school and a central library ; whilst 84 acres have grown to 280. A fine Gothic room named Fothergill Hall, seating 400 persons, was added in 1899 : it contains the bust of the patron saint.¹

¹ " I cannot sufficiently express my admiration of the order, seriousness and repose of this great institution." Sir J. G. Fitch, H.M. Inspector of Schools, *Report*, 1866 ; see Schools Inquiry Commission, *Reports of Asst. Commrs.* ix. pp. 236-288 ; and compare Prof. M. E. Sadler on Friends' Schools in *Friends' Quart. Exam.*, July 1907, p. 437. Fuller details of Fothergill's labours in the foundation of Ackworth School and of his visits to the place will be found in J. H. Tuke's *Sketch*, pp. 48-67. See also [J. Fothergill] *A Letter to a Friend in the Country relative to the Intended School at Ackworth*, 24.i.1779 ; and other letters, to Priestley, 24.viii.1780, quoted in *Mem. S. Fothergill*, p. 541 ; to B. Franklin, 25.x.1780, *Amer. Phil. Soc.* ; and MS. Letters to H. Zouch, Autumn 1777, *Frds. Ref. Lib. Gibson MSS.* i. 119 ; and to D. Barclay, 23.x.1778 ; this last and the letter of the boys' monitors are among the David Barclay papers ; H. Thompson, *Hist. Ackworth School*. The tenth line of F. Taylor's stanza has been slightly altered.

CHAPTER XXIII

PENNSYLVANIA, THE QUAKER COLONY

It ought to be part of every man's religion to see that his country is well governed.—WILLIAM PENN.

Liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery.—*Idem*, 1682.

THE Society of Friends had an important part in that "romance of broad spaces and daring wills," the settlement and growth of the American Colonies. The early settlers on that continent were many of them men and women of strong convictions, thoughtful and self-reliant, who had broken away from the church-systems of Europe. Men of this stamp were ready to listen to the message of the Inward Light, and to give heed to the Quaker preachers, who from the year 1656 onwards, in unbroken succession, crossed the Atlantic to proclaim it.¹ Even where intolerance prevailed the steadfast persistence of the Friends made its way, and the blood of the martyrs shed on Boston Common proved as in an earlier day the seed of the Church. Nowhere did George Fox find a people more prepared to accept his spiritual gospel than in the coast towns of America, and in the lonely settlements along the Albemarle.

In the first half century of their existence, when Friends were an active growing people, they took a large share in the public life of the new communities and helped to build them on a foundation of true freedom. Rhode

¹ Between 1661 and 1771 about 132 religious visits, often including many months of travel, were paid by preachers of the society from Europe. Proud, *Pennsylvania*, ii. 338, note. Edmund Peckover found 5000 persons in attendance at New England Yearly Meeting in 1743. *Journ. Friends' Hist. Soc.* i. 102.

Island, the early home of complete religious liberty, which is more than toleration, allowed the Quakers full scope ; her chief officers indeed from 1660 to 1714 were of that body ; and the Friends had much influence in the colony down to the time of the revolution.¹ West and East Jersey were purchased by Friends from their former proprietors in 1674 and 1682 respectively. The charter of the western province seems to have been drawn up by Penn ; many hundreds of Quakers went over to settle in its fertile lands ; and the first governor (absentee) of East Jersey was Robert Barclay the Apologist. John Archdale, a Friend, was part proprietor of North and South Carolina, and governed the whole province with singular success and wisdom in 1695-96 ; one-half of the Assembly were still Quakers in 1703, and it appears that, as late as 1720, three English Friends, John Falconer, David Barclay and Thomas Hyam, purchased the proprietorship for the sum of £230,000.²

The new continent, in fact, offered an open field to the Friends, where they could worship God in liberty of conscience, and live unhindered in accord with their convictions. The idea came into the mind of William Penn that a province should be settled by the Friends themselves, and that its laws and constitutions should be from the outset shaped according to the highest standard of righteousness within their vision. Penn was young, ardent, full of faith, and a man of true genius ; he was also wealthy, noble, and a courtier. Pennsylvania was to be a theocratic state, a holy experiment. Its story has an interest reaching far beyond the borders of the society

¹ The petition to King Charles II. for the charter of 1663 ran as follows : " It is much in our hearts to hold forth a lively experiment, that a most flourishing civil state may stand, and best be maintained, with a full liberty of religious concerns."—Bancroft, *Hist. United States*, i. 362.

² Dartmouth MSS., *Hist. MSS. Comm.* xi. App. iv. 255. On Archdale, see " A New Description of Carolina, . . . with several Remarkable Passages of Divine Providence during my time. By John Archdale, late Governour of the same." London, 1707. The establishing of a free civilised state he deems to be a good and stable preparatory for the Gospel State : one great purpose of his patent of government was to propagate the gospel of peace. For other references see Rufus M. Jones, *Quakers in American Colonies*. A copy of John Eliot's *Indian Bible*, second edition, 1685, which once belonged to Robert Barclay, is in the Library of the University of Edinburgh.

whose members controlled its government for more than two generations ; because Friends stood in those days, not only for pure religion and undefiled, but for civil and religious liberty in its fullest measure ; because the great province they founded on the banks of the Delaware had an important share in establishing that liberty as the leading principle of the United States of America ; and because the example of these states had much to do with the recognition of the rights of man in the older countries of the world.¹

The frame of government set up by William Penn for his new province in 1682, and developed in the charter of 1701, was based upon the broad principles of love, justice and freedom. His code of laws is still worthy of close study for its social ideals. It is well known that his wise and friendly treatment of the native Indians—prohibiting the sale of rum to them, and buying their land on just terms—was followed by seventy years of peace and concord with these tribes, although there were bloody wars in the adjoining colonies. The tradition of the Great Onas, as they called Penn, and of his Friends, lingered for many generations amongst the red men. All men were equal in the new state : justice was free and simple : prisons and penalties were on a reformed model, that the offender might be reclaimed. Penn had a clear vision of freedom. “ Any government,” he writes, “ is free for the people under it (whatever be the frame), where the laws rule, and the people are a party to those laws.” In 1687 he printed for the use of his colonists Magna Carta and two other English charters, “ that every man may understand what is his right and how to preserve it.” Again he wrote of the charter for West Jersey : “ We lay a foundation for after ages to understand their liberty as men and Christians, that they may not be brought in bondage but by their own consent, for we put the power in the people.” Representative government was set up in Pennsylvania on lines so advanced as to include the essential principles for which the Chartist

¹ Ruffini, *Religious Liberty*, trans., pp. 284-289.

strove in England a century and a half later. The Quakers had learned in the fires of persecution the lesson of charity and tolerance : no law bound the conscience of any man, nor were oaths exacted. Indeed such freedom was allowed to the immigrants who flowed constantly into the colony that in the end the Friends lost control of the state, for they had come to form but a small minority of the population. Peace reigned throughout the land, such as was seen in no other colony : there was no militia, though power to raise one had been included in the charter granted by the Crown ; and no force was used in the conduct of government except to restrain individual disturbers of order.

Penn had himself but scanty comfort from the state he had founded on such enlightened principles. He was the Proprietor, and aimed to be a sort of gracious overlord. But the sturdy men and women of his religion who had followed his banner across the Atlantic, people of independent and enterprising mind from England, Germany and Holland, used the institutions he had set up to wrest larger and larger measures of liberty from his hand. Despite the great proprietary estates, and the quit-rents which existed on paper, the province was a continual drain of expense to its founder, and his spirit was harassed by many contests with his Quaker Assembly. Already in his later time there were three parties in the state : the Proprietor with his Council : the Popular or Quaker party, with whom the Germans were counted ; and the Opposition or non-Quaker, which sought to change the government to that of a Crown Colony and to set up an established Church. This last party enlisted much English sympathy and support. But the Friends were firmly rooted ; they were men of steadfast and prosperous lives ; and they maintained unbroken under a high sense of responsibility for many years the liberties which Penn had granted them. Some thirty years of comparative quiet followed Penn's withdrawal in 1710 from his active labours. Meanwhile the Friends had come to be outnumbered by two to one ; the Proprietaries, Penn's

younger sons Thomas and Richard, were wealthy absentees living in London, little in touch with the Quakers, and were represented in the province by the (lieutenant) governor and his council.

Trouble began again when, in the year 1739, war broke out between England and Spain, followed later by war with France and her Indian allies, which continued on and off until 1763. The British government called upon the colonies to contribute money and other supplies for the service of the war, to raise contingents of troops and to build forts. The votes for these objects must, under the charter of Pennsylvania, be passed as a voluntary act of the legislature. They were presented from time to time by the governor and council to the Assembly; and they were supported by the Church and Presbyterian parties in the colony. But the Quakers held an unbroken majority in the Assembly, and they followed the principles of peace.

We may pause here to consider the attitude of the early Friends towards war. Accepting the teaching of Christ as a gospel of pure love, they held that war was unchristian, and this alike in its origin and in its results. George Fox had been called out of "that nature whence wars arise," and "lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars." Barclay too applied the peaceable ethic of Christ without flinching to the whole of life. Friends did not indeed deny that force was needed in the community, as in the family, to restrain ill-doers, to protect the weak, and to preserve that ordered peace, upon which freedom itself and the power to work out man's nature depends. For the community includes many persons who have not come, as Barclay would say, to the pure dispensation of the gospel, but are still "in the mixture," and for these the restraint of force is needed in the spirit of love. As their consciences become enlightened to understand the teaching of Christ more fully, such restraint will be needed less and less, even to vanishing point. The use of force in maintaining civil order is however marked off from the sphere of war by this distinction, that the former is regulated by justice and law, and the latter by uncertain motives, often greed or offended dignity. That war too might be governed by justice was a desire that sometimes found expression on the part of the

earlier Friends. Edward Burrough in 1656 charged the soldiers in Ireland to use their swords justly, and even wrote to the army at Dunkirk in 1659 that it should avenge the blood of the guiltless.

War in a just cause Barclay held to be not altogether unlawful to a magistrate whose conscience was not fully enlightened. Penington said that "the present estate of things," in which the earthly spirit prevails, might require the use of the sword, and a blessing would attend its right use ; but, he added, there is a better state. There were indeed occasions in the great struggle for liberty which was waging in England at the time of the rise of Friends, when they were asked to give active help to the parliamentary forces, and when some of the best amongst them hesitated as to their duty. But Fox and others stood firm : no carnal weapons were to be borne : Friends were not to join the militia ; the testimony of the society against all war was clear and emphatic. Several of its early leaders—Dewsbury, Hubberton, Nayler and others—had come out from the ranks of the army to serve the Prince of Peace, in the Kingdom which is "righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost."

But whilst it was the clear duty of the Friend in his personal conduct and on his own behalf to deny all war, the position was less easy for those who held places of responsibility in the community on behalf of their fellows ; and such offices were held, as we have seen, by early members of the society in America. The sturdy Quaker governors of Rhode Island thought it their duty to the people who had elected them that they should assent to preparations for the military defence of the colony. John Archdale, governor of the Carolinas, held a commission which nominally appointed him Admiral and Commander-in-Chief. The Assembly passed a Militia Act during his term of office, under which all Quakers were excused from service, who, in the judgment of the governor, refused to bear arms on a conscientious principle of religion.¹ These Friend governors did not, as it appears, engage in war, nor were they, on the other hand, subjected to disownment by their own body. They seem to have taken the view that, although all war was evil, a defensive war might on occasion be a necessary accompaniment of civil government, when that government was exercised on behalf of a mixed population only partly enlightened ; and that in the public office they held they did right to connive at it. A citizen cannot act

¹ Archdale, *op. cit.* preface.

merely for himself : he has a share in the state and in its responsibilities ; he may have to countenance methods of government not ideally right, though he must never be content with them, nor cease to labour for their removal.

The question as it presented itself in the home country was somewhat different, for there the authority which public officers derived from the king was apt to overshadow their responsibility to their fellow-citizens. But in either land it was one of great moment, and it had a fateful influence upon the history of the society. Could Friends with their pure and high ideals take part in government ? Some of the early Quakers thought that they could ; Christians, said Penn, should keep the helm and guide the vessel to its port, not steal out of the stern of the world, and leave it without a pilot. The later society, led mainly by English Friends, came in effect to the decision that they could not take such part ; no doubt the customary oath of office was an especial hindrance ; and in consequence they withdrew for a century and a half into private life. It would be out of place here to do more than allude to the emergence of English Friends from this position in the course of the nineteenth century, and to their gradual entrance in considerable numbers into magisterial, civic and parliamentary life.¹

Penn, who had an intimate knowledge of the ways of government, founded his state, as we have seen, upon peace principles, and these were successfully maintained for many years. But by the time at which we have arrived public opinion in his colony had changed, although the Friends were still in control. Some of these, and especially James Logan, allowed of defensive war. When the British demands for war taxes came before the Assembly it long resisted them, but was sometimes induced by loyalty to the king and duty to the other constituent parts of the empire to make grants "for the king's use," without specifying the military purpose

¹ It may be noted that John Bright based his opposition to the several wars of his time upon the circumstances of each ; he resigned from Gladstone's Cabinet in 1882, because the bombardment of Alexandria was in his judgment an act of unjustifiable war. This might nevertheless be consistent with a strong personal conviction that all war was wrong. See M. E. Hirst, in *Fds. Quart. Exam.*, Jan. 1916. Upon the attitude of the early Friends to war and the facts quoted above, see W. C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism* ; George Fox's *Journal*, ed. Camb. ; E. Burrough, *Works* ; Barclay, *Apology*, Prop. XV. ; I. Penington, *Works*, i. 323.

intended. Franklin, who was clerk to the Assembly, makes fun in his *Autobiography* of one of its votes, for "wheat or other grain," which the governor interpreted to include gunpowder, but there is no evidence of its being so intended. The opposition to the war taxes brought the House into frequent collision with the governor, with whom it had other causes of disagreement, especially the exemption of the proprietary estates from bearing their share of taxation, the giving of secret instructions by the Proprietaries to the governor whom they sent out, and sundry encroachments by the Crown upon the charter of the province. The Assembly followed the precedents set in English history, and frequently refused the voting of a tax until they could obtain a *quid pro quo* in the removal of some cherished grievance.

CHAPTER XXIV

FOTHERGILL AND QUAKER RULE IN PENNSYLVANIA, 1741 TO 1756

There was a state without king or nobles ; there was a church without a bishop ; there was a people governed by grave magistrates which it had selected, and equal laws which it had framed.—RUFUS CHOATE, 1843.

Oh, this is a good country ! God bless the King, and William Penn ; we shall do very well by and by, if we keep our healths.—J. HECTOR ST. JOHN [CREVECEUR] about 1770.

THE Pennsylvanian Friends often sought the counsel and help of the society at home. The relationship between the parental church and its strong and virile offspring beyond the seas was one of mutual confidence and affection, maintained by frequent letters and visits. The "Meeting for Sufferings," or representative meeting of the society in London, was accustomed at that time to meet once in every week. It was composed of the ablest and most responsible Friends in the home counties. Although they were excluded by their principle against oaths from all public offices, and from most of the professions, not a few of these Friends were men of influence, merchants or bankers well known in the metropolis. Some, like Richard Partridge, who had long been the vigilant agent for Pennsylvania, Richard How, David Barclay, Thomas Hanbury or Simeon Warner, had ready access to Ministers and public men. The original purpose of the meeting, as its name implies, was to care for all cases of "suffering for the Truth's sake," and especially to help those imprisoned for conscientious causes, or prosecuted for non-payment of tithes. Other business

came to be added of a wider scope. The meeting took note of Bills brought before parliament which might affect Friends, and of all books or pamphlets issued against them or their principles. It directed the issuing or endorsing of replies to such books, and the distribution of standard Quaker literature to all parts.¹ A regular correspondence was maintained by the meeting with Friends in the colonies, islands and distant parts, and a general care exercised over their interests and welfare.

Fothergill early became a member of the Meeting for Sufferings; his name appears upon the minutes before he was twenty-nine years of age as "correspondent" for Barbadoes. He had ever a high estimate of this meeting and a cordial regard for its members: they came together in reverence and tenderness of spirit, and became in his belief instruments in the hands of Providence for much good. A committee was appointed by the meeting as occasion required "on the affairs of Friends in Pennsylvania," and was sometimes continued from week to week over a course of several years; Fothergill's name was added to such a committee in 1741. He had a hereditary interest in the province, his father having thrice visited it; and mutual friendships had been made when some from that side had come to London. He had even thought at one time of settling there himself. Later, his brother Samuel's prolonged labours in America in 1754-1756 strengthened the ties which had been formed. Fothergill's medical practice brought him into frequent connection with the Colonials; his intimate friendship with Franklin and his botanical and other scientific pursuits also kept him in close touch with their life and interests. Thus it came to pass that he had a much fuller knowledge than was common in those days of the American colonies, of which indeed some public men in England were grossly ignorant; for it is on record that the dispatches of a

¹ Thus in 1741 Dr. Fothergill was appointed with others to consider of an answer to a book in defence of the clergy of York. In the same year he was to draw up a letter to prevent G. C., "who is rambling up and down the country preaching," from imposing himself upon Friends.

Secretary of State were constantly addressed "to the Island of New England," and that "the Island of Virginia" was spoken of by a learned pleader in a court of judicature. Upon Fothergill's knowledge was founded a sympathetic insight into the progress and difficulties of his American co-religionists, both in their testimony for a spiritual faith, and in their struggle for liberty against oppression. A love of freedom was deeply rooted in Fothergill's character, and probably drew much of its inspiration from Penn, to whose works he contributed a preface, when they were reissued in 1771.

Governor Thomas had written home in 1740 to the Board of Trade and Plantations, complaining of the obstinacy of the Pennsylvanian Assembly, which would neither establish a militia nor provide arms, and he advised that the Quakers should be disqualified from its membership. Upon this threatened attack on their rights and liberties they asked the help of London Friends, and a committee of the Meeting for Sufferings, including Fothergill, sat long and often upon this matter. Petitions were presented, and Friends appeared in person, thirty or forty at a time, before the Board of Trade in London in 1742, and before the Committee of Council in 1743. We may imagine the company of grave plain-coated Quakers gathering at the Cock-pit Coffeehouse, or the Tennis Court Coffeehouse, at the tenth or the sixth hour. Much pains was taken at these interviews to smooth over the stubborn attitude of the Assembly-men, and a good understanding was at length arrived at with the British government. A letter from the Pennsylvanian Friends is recorded on the minutes, gratefully acknowledging the meeting's care and regard.

In the meantime James Logan, Penn's old secretary, never himself a strict Friend, had sent a letter to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting to uphold defensive war. There was much controversy on the subject, and Logan himself subscribed privately to the defences of the colony. Fothergill writes in 1742 to his friend Israel Pemberton, one of the Assembly-men, commenting upon these events.

Dealing first with Logan's letter, the argument turns, he writes, upon his assertion that all government is founded on force. If this be so, he must still show that there is no difference in the degrees of it, but that the force exercised in the correction of a child is the same as that used in the slaughter of an enemy. Fothergill goes on to allude to the Assembly's controversy with the governor. "I can scarcely, upon the whole," he says, "forbear to take his side. Your cause is undoubtedly good, but I am afraid you discover a little more warmth than is quite consistent with the moderation we profess. The provocations I confess are great. The arguments made use of by the Assembly are strong and cogent, but he justly accuses you of too much acrimony. Truth never appears more agreeable than when dressed with mildness and temper. And be pleased to remember that a deference is due to a magistrate."

The Pemberton family was one of high repute in the colony. The father, Israel Pemberton, was born there soon after its first settlement, had known Fothergill's father on one of his visits, and was "well beloved for his innocent life and good behaviour in the Truth." He was member of the Assembly for nineteen years, just, upright and moderate. His large merchant's business in Philadelphia was continued by his sons. The eldest of these, Israel Pemberton, to whom Fothergill's letter was addressed, was born in 1716. He was early conspicuous in civil and religious work; a man of large understanding, natural eloquence and integrity, both feared and beloved: they called him "King of the Quakers." I. Pemberton sat in the Assembly for a number of years, and after leaving office at the age of forty, devoted himself to works of benevolence and hospitality until his death in 1779. He took a deep interest in the Indians, and their deputies were often entertained in his ample mansion at the corner of Chestnut and Third Streets; and he was an advocate too of the negro slaves.

Another son, James Pemberton, was the politician of the family. Born in 1723, he had "a sense of religion on

his mind " from early years, and his character was based on principles unflinchingly held. He visited England in 1748, bringing an introduction to Fothergill, with whom he contracted a lifelong friendship. Pemberton was a member of the Assembly during the troublous days before the resignation of the Friends, and again in 1764 for several terms. " I avoid mixing with the multitude," he writes to Fothergill in 1776, " in their discussion of political points, thinking it safest to remain unbiased in my judgment, and endeavouring to pursue the general good, as far as I am capable, and may be assisted by wisdom superior to my own." It was his aim to establish the liberties of the people on the purest basis—the principles of the Gospel of Peace. There is an anecdote of his faithful payment in 1758 of a sum equal to \$8000, ransom money for a ship and cargo captured by the French in time of war, and returned by them to Philadelphia on the strength of a Quaker's promise. The act was censured by his fellow-merchants. James Pemberton was a man of restrained habits and even temper, and used his large means for philanthropic ends. He was an overseer for fifty years of the William Penn Charter School, and lived on, full of years and honour, into the nineteenth century, dying in 1809. A third son, John Pemberton, was well known as a minister among Friends and thrice visited Europe : his life has been published.

Another valued correspondent of Fothergill's in Philadelphia was William Logan. The Logans, cousins to the Pembertons, belonged to the aristocracy of the province, both in talent and in wealth. James Logan, already mentioned, a man of trained and powerful intellect, was the famous secretary to William Penn, and long outlived his chief : the Loganian Library, his bequest to the citizens of Philadelphia, attests his culture and his scholarship, and his beautiful old colonial mansion of Stenton stands yet in Germantown. He made scientific experiments on the maize plant, demonstrating that the pollen was conveyed to the ovary, and was the effective agent in producing seed. These were communicated to

Peter Collinson and to the Royal Society, and afterwards published in a Latin treatise; which was reprinted by Fothergill in 1747, with a short preface, and an English version. The author's name is preserved in the genus of plants *Logania*, and the natural order *Loganiaceæ*. He died in 1751.¹

His son, William Logan, born in 1718, had a legal training, and succeeded his father at Stenton: he was a citizen of repute in Philadelphia, and an influential member of the governor's council from 1747 to 1775, when it was dissolved. Samuel Fothergill found him a sympathetic companion in some of his religious visits, and wrote of him that he was a great man in the world, but a choice Friend, and his conversation was solid and weighty: he belonged also to the standing committee appointed to correspond with the society in London. Logan recorded his lonely vote in the council from time to time against the wars with the Indians, whom he often entertained at Stenton. He sent to Dr. Fothergill in 1744 a copy of a treaty lately concluded by the Pennsylvanian government with some Indian nations. Fothergill had it printed and circulated in England. His intention in doing so, he writes to Logan, "was to inform people here that the Indians were not the despicable ignorant brutes many persons conceive they must be, and to show with what prudence and equity they were treated by the Government of Pennsylvania."² Logan sent his three sons to England for education under Fothergill's advice and oversight, in which he set implicit confidence. The eldest of these, William, was placed by Fothergill as pupil to Dr. William Hunter, then in the zenith of his fame as an anatomical teacher; after which

¹ See *Memoir*, by W. Armistead; J. Logan, *Experimenta Meletemata de plantarum generatione*, Leyden, 1739; also letter to Halley, 1732, on the invention of the quadrant by Godfrey, in S. Miller, *Retrospect of XVIIIth Century*, i. 407. His brother, Dr. William Logan (1686-1757), was a physician practising in Bristol. Portraits of Dr. W. Logan and his wife are preserved in Philadelphia, and are reproduced in *Hannah Logan's Courtship*, by A. C. Myers. A prescription shown at Mr. Wellcome's Historical Medical Museum, London, appears to be his.

² MS. Letter, 5.i.1745, in the author's hands.

the young man studied at Edinburgh University, where in due time he graduated in medicine. He returned home, with a letter of sage counsel from Fothergill to his father as to his future prospects ; but these were closed by his early death.

George Logan, a younger son, had a more eventful life. Coming to Europe a second time, he too, under the kindly auspices of Fothergill and Barclay, studied medicine in Edinburgh, and afterwards visited Franklin in Paris. His father, William Logan, died during his absence in 1776. Returning to Philadelphia in 1783, during the distressful days that followed the war, Dr. George Logan occupied himself to good purpose with agriculture and with public affairs. A Friend of a liberal cast, enthusiastic, wholly unselfish, and with the refined instincts of a gentleman, he took an active part as an Union Senator in the political strife of the period, which was at that time uncommonly bitter in its tone. Stung by the prospect of a war with France, which the federal party seemed to favour, he essayed in 1798 the chivalrous task of averting it, by journeying to France in his private capacity, and interviewing the leading members of the Directory. He succeeded in this daring effort : peace was preserved ; but such was the rancour of faction that he got no thanks. He made a similar visit to England in 1810.

The Patriot dared the wave
To arrest the dread array of war ;
Steadfast of heart, in counsel wise,
His virtue over art prevailed,
And gained of Peace the glorious prize !
Whilst Calumny and Faction failed
To injure, where they most assailed.¹

¹ Verses inscribed to Dr. Logan in 1820 by his wife, Deborah Norris Logan, a woman of high character and cultivation, sister to Isaac Norris, Speaker of the Assembly. Dr. Logan died in 1821, aged 68 years. A memoir of his life was written by his widow, and an excellent edition published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1899. See also H. M. Lippincott, *A Portraiture of the Quakers*, 1915, p. 30. Amongst his talented medical friends at Edinburgh was the first Dr. Edward Long Fox, afterwards of Bristol. Joseph Mickel Fox, of Philadelphia, who is a descendant of Dr. Logan's sister, possesses valuable letters, and the author is indebted to his courtesy for much kind assistance. A letter from W. Logan is printed in *Memoirs of S. Fothergill*, p. 188 (see also, p. 352) ; and a MS. letter to Dr. J. Fothergill, 1768, is in the New York Public Library (Emmett, 4071),

To return to our narrative. Through the years that followed 1743 the position of the Friends controlling the Assembly became more and more difficult. They were men of peace; and were bound by their convictions, reinforced by long tradition, and stimulated by frequent exhortations from their own Yearly Meeting and from that of London, to have no part in war or warlike preparations. On the other hand, they were administering a province of the British Empire, on behalf of a population amongst whom the Quakers were now a diminishing fraction (not more than one-third), and they were urged by a large section of public opinion to meet the king's requirements, and fall into line with the other colonies. Defensive war, it was said, was on a wholly different basis from war of offence: it was closely akin to the force wielded by the magistrate to maintain public order. Many Friends accepted this view besides James Logan. What right, again, had the members of one religious body to impose their principles upon the policy of the whole community? It was an undemocratic position; yet we must remember also that year by year, at the annual elections, the Friends who controlled the Assembly were returned by overwhelming majorities, despite a strong party of opposition, to represent the people. Such was Quaker prestige in the province, such the confidence these men personally inspired by their life and character, and such the popular estimation of their uncompromising stand against governor and Crown for the liberties of the state.

Fothergill kept in close correspondence with his friend James Pemberton during these years. The policy of the London Friends, in the shaping of which the doctor had a large hand, was to strengthen their fellows in the pure principles of peace, and to uphold them in the jealous care of their liberties, but to counsel moderation and meekness. Eventually, when the crisis became acute, they advised withdrawal from public office rather than the compromise of conscience. The complaints of the Assembly's conduct which were sent home by the governor

received some check in 1744, when the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown made it clear that, although the Assembly ought no doubt in point of prudence to attend to the defence of the province, yet it could not, by its constitution, be compelled to act otherwise than according to its own judgment, except by an Act of parliament.

The difficulty became more serious in the year 1754, in connection with a revolt of the Indians in some of the colonies. These tribes had as we have seen received fairer treatment in Pennsylvania than elsewhere. When news reached England of their turbulent state, Fothergill wrote to Franklin suggesting that as many as possible of the Indians should be invited to come into Pennsylvania for the present ; some of their leaders being sent forth amongst the various tribes to offer to the red men and their families subsistence and help, if they would retire into the province during the present troubles. The expense, he adds, will be great, but will it not enlist the Indians in sympathy with the colonists, and prevent the French from engaging them to molest you ? ¹

Unfortunately for this well-meant proposal, the tribes even in Penn's province had become hostile ; deceived and defrauded of their lands by a policy alien to that of the beloved Onas, they were ready to listen to French agents and took up the hatchet against the colonists. Thus the seventy years' era of peace and friendship with the original inhabitants of the soil came to a sad end. The lonely white settlers along the frontiers, many of them Presbyterians, suffered at their hands ; and terrible tragedies took place when the red man's cruelty was let loose. The province was alarmed : the governor essayed to set up a compulsory military service for its defence ; but the Quaker Assembly offered a dogged resistance, voting indeed £10,000, but coupled with conditions he would not accept. It was freely stated that the insecurity of the province was due to the Friends. At this juncture General Braddock came into the country with British troops to operate against the French and their Indian

¹ J. F. to Israel Pemberton, 11.11.1754, Etting MSS.

allies—the first army “that ever reached our peaceful city of Brotherly Love.” “A cloud of darkness came with them,” wrote Catherine Payton. Braddock was defeated and mortally wounded before Fort Duquesne (now Pittsburg) on July 9, 1755. Consternation followed, and wrath broke out against the Quakers; yet at the next annual election their large majority was maintained.

Urgent complaints were sent to the home government, and the society in England incurred no little odium and unpopularity on account of the doings of the Assembly. The Proprietaries too were incensed at its action relative to their own secret instructions to the governor and to other privileges. The Friends in London had already attended in May before the Board of Trade to mediate on behalf of their fellows. Fothergill brought to the Meeting for Sufferings in July a letter from Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting. This and one he had received from Pemberton explained the true causes of the troubles. Richard How received copies from him in order to show them to Lord Shelburne, the Lord President of the Council. Fothergill was Lady Juliana Penn's medical adviser, and was able to bring the matter favourably before her husband. T. Jackson, John Hanbury and Fothergill were also appointed by the Meeting to wait upon Thomas Penn. It was a satisfactory conference, and the Meeting was enabled to send a letter through Fothergill (October 4) to Friends in Philadelphia, giving news of an amicable adjustment: the Proprietaries had no desire, they said, to abridge the rights and privileges granted under the charter, and would consider and redress any just cause of complaint. The letter goes on to enjoin esteem and respect towards the Proprietaries, however they were mistaken or misled.

But the home government could take no light view of the situation in the colonies. It was a day of dark clouds. The Seven Years' War on the continent of Europe was involving England in no little sacrifice and disaster, and France had begun that victorious campaign in which the

genius of Montcalm seized for the time much of the hinterland of the North American provinces. The Quaker opposition in Pennsylvania could not be allowed to add to the perils by which the colonies were confronted. A Bill was drafted for Parliament early in 1756, dissolving the Assembly, and disqualifying Friends for its membership by the imposition of an oath, at any rate until such time as laws for armed defence and restriction of the popular powers could be framed by others. This was to break the charter of Pennsylvania. Friends in London got wind of the plan, and a person of high rank, a steady friend to the society and intimate with a leading member, offered his advice; four Friends waited upon him; and it became plain that a course which had been in mind for some time must now be taken: the Quakers must retire, for the present at any rate, from the government of the province. The London Meeting after due consideration decided to advise this course, and upon its assurance that the Friends should resign, the Bill was stayed, mainly by the good offices of Lord Granville. John Hunt and Christopher Wilson, who were embarking from Bristol in August for Philadelphia on a religious visit, were commissioned with the message from the home society.

Fothergill saw the issue which was at stake. Writing on March 16 to Pemberton he shows the necessity of dealing with the crisis in this manner: Every one says, he tells him, that you are unfit for governing: "you accept of a public trust, which at the same time you acknowledge you cannot discharge. You owe the people protection, and yet withhold them from protecting themselves. Will not all the blood that is spilt be at your doors?" The province cannot co-operate in defence whilst your Friends have a majority in the Assembly, which your influence and wealth will nevertheless ensure to you, unless you are totally excluded. If it is an infraction of the charter, what is this to the desolation of a province? What answer, he concludes, can we make?

In the meantime the Assembly had voted in the previous November £60,000 "for the king's use," James

Pemberton and six others dissenting ; many other Friends could not approve, and some suffered distraint for non-payment of the tax. Forts were erected in February along the frontier, but necessarily at far intervals ; as useless, said one, " as an attempt to hedge out birds." On April 10, 1756, Governor Morris declared war against the Delawares, delivered the hatchet into their hands, and offered a bounty for Indian scalps—130 spanish dollars for every male, and 50 for every female scalp. William Logan vainly denounced this act in the Council : the Assembly was not consulted. The province was now at war : it was time for the Friends to leave the helm of the state.

On June 1, James Pemberton and five other Friends resigned their seats in the Assembly. One of these, William Callender, writes in an interesting letter to Fothergill : " I believe Friends will pretty generally accept of your guarantee for their resigning their seats in the House, and as a specimen of this six of us resigned yesterday. It is thought proper not to break the House as it would throw matters into confusion." The result attained was in part due, as shown in an earlier chapter, to the labours of Fothergill's brother Samuel, who was on a visit to the country, as well as to those of the deputies from England. Four more members who had been elected in the autumn were induced " to shake off their rags of imaginary honour " ; thus the majority was destroyed, and the Quaker experiment of government in Pennsylvania was at an end.¹

Nevertheless the Assembly still contained a number of Friends, and their general policy continued to have much influence in the province for many years. During this period proprietary encroachments had still to be withstood and the charter of liberties to be maintained. Nor did Friends themselves sit with folded hands. Parted, as

¹ See MS. Letter, W. Callender to J. F., 2.vi.1756. Frds. Ref. Lib. Samuel Fothergill persuaded the Assembly Friends to be more respectful to the governor. He suspected Franklin, who was clerk to the Assembly, of purposely drafting the Address in a tone which would bring the society into obloquy. *Mem. S. Fothergill*, p. 247.

it proved, irrevocably from the executive control, they still worked for peace and righteousness in the community. But they were much misrepresented at home. "I had occasion," writes Fothergill on the 21st of February 1757, "to wait upon Lord Hyde, a nobleman well known to your governor, with other Friends, upon the subject of your affairs. He asked if he could do us any service. We requested that he would be pleased to write to the governor, to ask him that he would observe the conduct of Friends for himself, shut his ears to all partial comment, and represent to the people in power at home the conduct of the society toward him and their sovereign as it appeared from the evidence of facts, be it for or against them. We told him, we only asked that he would see for himself and report accordingly."

The relations of the province with the Indians were in the meantime a source of constant trouble, and deeds of cruelty and barbarity often occurred. Efforts were made to pacify the friendly tribes and to detach them from the Iroquois and other allies of the French. The Friends continued to labour for peace through good report and ill report. As the children of the great Onas, they enjoyed the favour of the red men, and went to meet with them frequently on the frontier, not hesitating to pass out beyond the line of forts unarmed to visit them at the peril of their lives. They showed the Indians candour and kindness, and supplied large sums of money to provide goods for their use. The "Friendly Association for gaining and preserving Peace with the Indians by pacific measures" was formed, and kept up for a number of years. Fothergill took a warm interest in this movement and subscribed to the funds. The governor and council looked askance upon all this Quaker activity and even discredited its motives; nevertheless when treaties had to be made they were fain to use its aid, and at the successive Conferences at Easton in the years 1756, 1757 and 1758, Friends had a leading part to play, helping to obtain for the poor remains of these once numerous Indian communities some comfort and security

for the future. Friends' efforts on their behalf were often resented by the settlers, who were smarting under their sufferings, and doubtless approved the saying: "There is no good Indian but a dead Indian." In 1764, some Quakers of standing in Philadelphia had to flee from that city to escape the violence of armed mobs. Yet the influence of Friends and that of the Moravian F.C. Post, exercised steadily through succeeding years, kept the Pennsylvanian Indians quiet, and so helped to prevent the French from making use of them to harass the province. The care of the Indians—they number at the present day no more than one-third of a million—has ever since claimed the interest of the Friends in America: an important share in their management was given to Friends by General Grant in 1869, and since the close of this official work, which lasted fifteen years, it has continued to engage the earnest and self-denying labours of members of the society.¹

Reviewing the epoch of Quaker government, we see that it was an honest attempt to rule a state by the pure principles of Christianity. Friends were sons of Puritan Britain, and they stood for freedom, and a standard of justice and of love in advance of their own age; a standard towards which mankind is still progressing, substituting, if we may use the phrase of Huxley, for the "cosmic process" of the lower nature the "ethical process" of the higher. They held their place and carried out their principles whilst the people they ruled continued to be animated by a like faith. But the historian will not be surprised that after seventy years, when the community had grown so much that their own body formed but a

¹ "We are forming a plan for an honest trade with the Indians, and trying to settle the heads of a Bill with the Proprietaries for this purpose, to be passed in the Assembly of Pennsylvania; if it succeeds, we are in hopes it will secure the Indians effectually to the British interest." MS. Letter, J. F. to S. Fothergill, 1758. See also Letter, James Pemberton to Joseph Phinn, 15.11.1763; *Substance of a Conversation at Israel Pemberton's house between Indians and Friends*, including W. Logan, 1756; *Address of Seneca Indians "to the Children of the Friends of Onas,"* 1791, and reply; and *Letter of Friends to "Brothers of the Cherokee Nation,"* 1792, with the endorsement of the President of the United States to Jas. Pemberton. All these MSS. are in Frds. Ref. Lib. See, too, J. S. Walton, *Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Pennsylvania*, Phila. (1900).

small fraction of it, they were compelled to retire ; and that the struggle to fulfil their duties had led to some obscuring of the issues, and consequent evasions. The sons of Zeruiah became too strong for them ; moreover, it was contrary to the principle of democracy that the leaders of a minority, even though elected by the free suffrages of their fellows, should continue to direct the government. The Quaker experiment was no failure. It may yet point the way to future leaders of men when the Christian consciousness becomes more enlightened.

Regarded as a phase in the history of Quakerism, the Pennsylvanian rule shows this faith in active and vigorous exercise over a considerable course of years. Derived from the second generation of the society, whilst it was still fresh and living, the community of enterprising men was planted under free conditions : it grew and prospered, and governed itself. When the actual rule passed over to others, a sort of virtual ascendancy was still enjoyed by the Friends, derived from their long standing in the province and their wealth. This led to the uprising of a party of opposition, radical as it was called, which finally overcame them, and had the principal control of the government at the time of the revolution. At that period, as we shall see, the American Quakers shrunk back from actively espousing the cause of independence. And thus it came to pass that the society withdrew into itself, and passed into a phase of quietism and formalism, following in this the example as well as the emphatic precept of the English brethren. It lived its own life apart, active only in works of philanthropy, of which the century-long contest with slavery was not the least. The quietist phase was later in coming than in the home country, but when it came it was more profound, and it lasted longer. Many fine men and women indeed arose among the Pennsylvanian Friends, and upheld during their even course a pure testimony against the evils of the world. But their restricted life, and a deficiency of scriptural instruction for the young, left them ill prepared to resist the disintegrating force of religious strife which

led to the Hicksite schism early in the nineteenth century. Down to the present day Philadelphian Quakerism has stood for conservatism, and has represented more nearly than is to be found elsewhere the Quakerism of the eighteenth century. Deep founded upon the convictions and traditions of the past, it saw no room for the advance in thought and practice which other bodies were making, and for many years it stood outside of the general fellowship of the society in other lands. But the special gifts and the ancient spiritual inheritance of the Friends of this State have come to find a wider scope and influence during recent years.¹

¹ The chief sources for this and the preceding chapter are the historical works of Isaac Sharpless, *A Quaker Experiment in Government*, 1898, *The Quakers in the Revolution*, 1899, and the chapters contributed to Rufus M. Jones's *Quakers in the American Colonies*, 1911; also Proud, *Pennsylvania*; Bowden, *History of Friends in America*; Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*; MS. Minutes of Meeting for Sufferings, and Book of Epistles Sent, Society of Friends, London, 1741-1756. Some of the Letters of J. Fothergill, I. and J. Pemberton and other Friends are printed in the *Friend*, Phila., the *Amer. Phil. Soc. Calendar*, and the *Memoirs of S. Fothergill*. Many are preserved in the Etting MSS.; also in Frds. Ref. Lib.

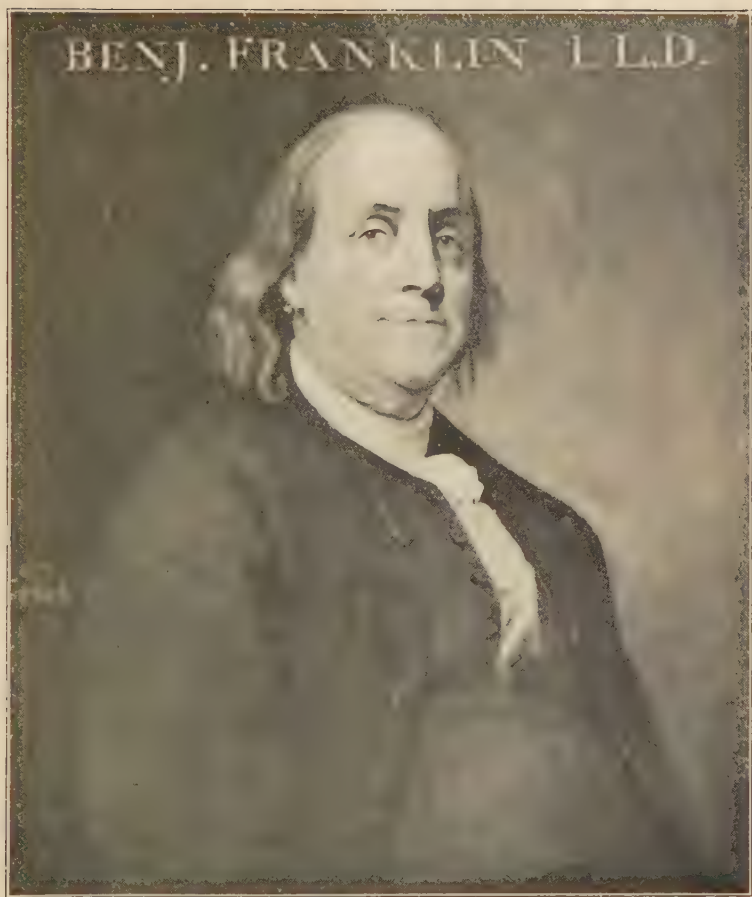
CHAPTER XXV

FOTHERGILL AND FRANKLIN, 1757 TO 1774. REVOLT OF THE AMERICAN PROVINCES

The Philosopher is he to whom the Highest has descended, and the lowest has mounted up ; who is the equal and kindly brother of all.—
T. CARLYLE.

The most uncomfortable truth is, in the long run, a safer companion than the pleasantest falsehood.—T. ROOSEVELT.

IT will be remembered that it was through the advice of Dr. Fothergill and with a preface from his hand that the experiments in electricity which first made the name of Franklin famous in science were published to the world. This was in the year 1751. Some correspondence ensued between Franklin and Fothergill, but it was not until 1757 that they met personally. Franklin was now fifty-one years of age and one of the leading men in Pennsylvania. Disputes between the Colonial Assembly and the Proprietaries were still going on, and Franklin was sent to England in this year to endeavour to secure a settlement. On reaching London, "I went," he says, "to visit Dr. Fothergill, to whom I was strongly recommended, and whose counsel respecting my proceedings I was advised to obtain." Fothergill advised his approaching the Proprietaries at once, and spoke to them himself on his behalf, arranging a meeting at Thomas Penn's house in Spring Garden. But Franklin found the attitude of these titular owners of a great province unworthy of their noble father, and repeated conferences and long delays resulted in nothing. It was only after three years of patient and tactful labour that Franklin



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

(1706-1790)

From the Portrait by Joseph Wright, 1782, in the possession of the Royal Society, London

succeeded in obtaining from the British government a decision that the rich estates of the Penns should share in the general taxation of the colony. Two years longer Franklin remained in London, engaged on other colonial business, writing many pamphlets and articles, and often in conference with the British Ministers on matters of imperial policy. During these five years he lived in lodgings in Craven Street, Strand, where he was attended by Dr. Fothergill on occasions of illness.¹

A friendship grew up between Franklin and Fothergill. There was much in the characters of these two men to make them congenial. They were nearly of an age; both were men of uncommon industry, pursuing lives to unselfish ends. Both possessed a keen insight into human nature, and a power of dealing with their fellows, which brought them extraordinary success in their own lines of action. Both were by temperament prudent and patient men, wary in action and in speech. In each the love of liberty was deeply set; and their outlook upon the world was benevolent in the truest sense, so that they were social reformers, in whom the power to see the needs of the community around them was allied with a ready will to apply the remedy. Both, again, were lovers of nature and keen students of physical science. They were both religious, in that a trust in God was the basis of character in each, but its outcome was strict and scrupulous conviction in the case of Fothergill, whilst Franklin's faith was neither rigorous nor dogmatic.² Franklin was

¹ The house was numbered 7 (now No. 36) in a row of modest brick houses, which must then have been new, in this small street leading down from the Strand to the river. In Oct. 1757, Franklin suffered from vertigo, a humming *tinnitus*, and vision of faint twinkling lights. Letter to Fothergill, *Amer. Phil. Soc. Calendar*, xlv. 18.

² Franklin had written some years earlier: "I have not the vanity to think I deserve [Heaven], the folly to expect it, nor the ambition to desire it; but content myself in submitting to the will and disposal of that God who made me, who has hitherto preserved and blessed me, and in whose fatherly goodness I may well confide, that he will never make me miserable, and that even the afflictions I may at any time suffer shall tend to my benefit." Works of kindness, mercy and public spirit were better, he added, than holiday-keeping, sermon-hearing, or ceremonies. Letter to Joseph Huey, 1753, Smyth, iii. 143. The liberal Priestley, who was intimate with Franklin, laments that he was an unbeliever in Christianity. *Mem. Priestley*, 1904, p. 58. When the Convention was framing the constitution of the United States in 1787, and

a man of the world, "a companionable philosopher," so Smyth writes of him, "whose feet were always well poised upon the substantial earth." He was in touch with a wide range of human needs and aspirations, and his pre-eminent talents were exercised upon an international stage.

Some time after his return to Philadelphia, Franklin wrote to his friend in London a letter full of news of the politics of the Colony.¹ It begins with a happy banter of Fothergill's busy life :

DEAR DOCTOR—I received your favour of the 10th of Dec. It was a great deal for one to write, whose time is so little his own. By the way, *When do you intend to live? i.e. to enjoy Life.* When will you retire to your villa, give yourself repose, delight in viewing the operations of Nature in the vegetable creation, assist her in her works, get your ingenious friends at times about you, make them happy with your conversation, and enjoy theirs; or if alone, amuse yourself with your books and elegant collections? To be hurried about perpetually from one sick-chamber to another, is not living. Do you please yourself with the fancy that you are doing good? You are mistaken. Half the lives you save are not worth saving, as being useless, and almost the other half ought not to be saved, as being mischievous. Does your conscience never hint to you the impiety of being in constant warfare against the plans of Providence? Disease was intended as the punishment of intemperance, sloth and other vices; and the example of that punishment was intended to promote and strengthen the opposite virtues. But here you step in officiously with your art, disappoint those wise intentions of Nature, and make men safe in their excesses. Whereby you seem to me to be of just the same service to society as some favourite first Minister, who, out of the great benevolence of his heart, should procure pardon for all criminals that applied to him. Only think of the consequence!

In the year that this letter was written the dispute with the Penns came to a head, and the province could

the strife of debate ran high, Franklin proposed that the morning sessions should be opened with prayer. Garner and Lodge, *Hist. United States*, ii. 581.

¹ Letter to J. F., 14 Mar. 1764; printed in Smyth, iv. 221. The original of this letter seems to have been among Fothergill's papers, which were dispersed by the executors of his niece. Later Hudson Gurney had it for many years; it then went astray, and was afterwards sold in London.

no longer tolerate their autocratic ways. "When a proprietary house is blinded to its own interest by avarice, and seeks to continue its authority by oppression, it is no longer worthy of dominion. Let this centre where it ought to be, in the Crown,—which will be to the benefit of the Province."¹ A petition in this latter sense, already favoured by some of the Friends, was drawn up by the Assembly, and Franklin brought it to England in December 1764, settling once more at his old lodgings in Craven Street. There for ten stormy years he toiled, in good report and in evil report, for the American cause. During this period he was often in touch with Fothergill, visiting him in Harpur Street, and meeting him at what Franklin called the "Club of honest Whigs," on alternate Thursday evenings at a Coffee-house, the "Queen's Arms," in St. Paul's Churchyard, and afterwards at the London Coffee-house in Ludgate Hill. This Club was also frequented by Dr. Richard Price, Dr. Priestley, Peter Collinson, Dr. Hawksworth, Dr. Kippis, Stanley the composer, John Lee and others.² Tolerant and conciliatory, Franklin was a lover of England as well as of his own country. "It has often happened to me," he wrote, "that while I have been thought here too much of an American, I have in America been deemed too much of an Englishman."

The dispute with the Proprietaries was soon overshadowed by a greater matter. Large debts had been incurred by the British government to meet the cost of war, partly for the defence of the American colonies, and Grenville, who had become Prime Minister in 1763, sought to raise revenue from those colonies.³ He stiffened the

¹ Letter of an unknown friend of Fothergill's, probably to W. Logan, June 5, 1764, J. M. Fox MSS.

² Smyth, x. 275; J. Parton, *Life of Franklin*, 1864, i. 541. The well-known Dr. Richard Price, Unitarian minister in London, was born 1723 and died 1791; he was a philosopher, an economist and an enlightened advocate of civil liberty. Fothergill probably owed something to his influence. Drs. Maty, Parsons, Templeman and Watson were also members of the Club. Nichols, *Lit. Anecd.* iii. 258.

³ The story is told that Grenville once sent for Dr. Fothergill to attend him, and after an animated discussion on American affairs, in which he learned Fothergill's views, put five guineas into his hand with the words: "Really, doctor, I am so much better that I don't want you to prescribe for me." Jeaffreson, *Book about Doctors*, p. 132.

duties already existing, and put into force the trade laws which had been generally evaded. These measures struck heavily at American commerce. He went on to introduce the Stamp Act, which imposed taxation within the colonies themselves. This touched a great constitutional principle, for the Americans had no representation in the British parliament. The colonies were roused : Franklin made strong remonstrance on behalf of their Assemblies, but all in vain : the Act was passed in March 1765, and he yielded to the inevitable so far as himself to nominate a collector under the Act. For this he was denounced at home, and his house surrounded by rioters.

Fothergill published anonymously in August 1765 a paper entitled "Considerations Relative to the North American Colonies." This is a vigorous, well-reasoned pamphlet, full of that love of justice and of liberty which is dear to an Englishman. It gained the warm commendation of his friends in the colonies.

Combating the general ignorance of American affairs, he shows how the settlements came to be founded, how they have grown, and what are their aims and characters. He deals with their relations to the mother country, and in what manner they are a source of wealth to it. The North Americans as a people are mainly of the class of "our lower English farmers," making a just sufficient living by hard work, and importing all the British manufactures they can ; though hospitable they are not rich. Money is scarcer with them and of higher value. Certain rights over trade and commerce for the good of the Empire are admitted, but beyond these taxation cannot be justly imposed without consent. "A British Parliament has certainly *power* to do many things, which it has no *right* to do. It has power to enact what laws it thinks fit, respecting any part of the British Empire ; but still it is to be remembered, that reason is the supreme law, and anything inconsistent with it is void in itself. To subject them to laws, in the making of which they have no voice, and can have none, is to strike at the root of our own constitution." He urges the repeal of the

Stamp Act; and that the colonists shall not be driven "to unite in their common defence, and to build up a potent and formidable confederacy." "Colonies sprung from Britain," he says, "will bear much; but it is to be remembered that they are the sons of freedom, and what they have been taught to look upon as virtue in their ancestors, will not soon be forgotten by them. Nay, they will be the sooner apt to vindicate their rights." He looks forward to their possible independence, if the colonists think themselves hardly dealt with, for "the genius of America seems to favour freedom." He concludes by suggesting—so long before the day of Cecil Rhodes—that scholarships for Americans should be instituted at the British universities.

The loss to British trade due to the Stamp Act aroused the merchants, and induced the government to hold an enquiry early in 1766, in the course of which Franklin's memorable examination before the House of Commons in Committee took place—"a schoolmaster catechised by his pupils," as Burke termed it. Fothergill was present, and wrote to Philadelphia to defend his friend's conduct, which was there sharply criticised. "He gave," such was Fothergill's account, "distinct, clear and satisfactory answers to every interrogatory, and spoke his sentiments with such perspicuity and firmness as did him the highest honour." He had done "all in his power to prevent the Stamp Act from passing, and asserted the rights and privileges of America with the utmost resolution and capacity." Fothergill's reports of Franklin's examination were received with great satisfaction in America, and extracts from his letters were printed in the Philadelphia newspapers.¹ The upholders of liberty received the powerful aid of Pitt, who threw himself into the fight as a champion of the American cause, and the Stamp Act was repealed in March 1766. Great was the joy in England, whilst in the colonies confidence was restored, the boycott was

¹ Letter to W. Logan, in Sparks' *Franklin*, vii. 311; MS. Letter to J. Pemberton, 27.ii.1766, in *Penn. MSS. Official Correspondence*, Hist. Soc. Penna.

taken off English goods, and a period of entire calm followed. Statues were set up to the king, and the Philadelphians resolved that on the royal birthday they would dress themselves in new suits of English manufacture, and give their homespun clothes to the poor.¹

The calm was shortlived. New British Ministers worried the American colonists with small taxes, especially that on tea, and dissolved or suspended their Assemblies when they were contumacious.

In 1768 Fothergill writes to Logan: "Dr. Franklin is I fear upon the wing to leave us. I am sorry for it, as I think America will require all her friends to assist her. Many she has lost, others she has made ashamed to appear in her behalf. His abilities, his knowledge of the country and the Ministry's knowledge of his abilities, would serve you more than half your few remaining friends and the agents together. I have pressed him to stay, and could wish sincerely he might receive orders from home for that purpose. I know he is not idle, and you all know he is not unable."² Whether or not as the result of this appeal, Franklin stayed on. The other colonial Agents in London were men of poor calibre, and were, besides, unknown and unconnected, as Fothergill writes again in May 1769: "for the most part they are pensionaries, or wish to be so, and are either inactive or false to your interests."³ Their employers seem to have realised this, and as Franklin increased year by year in men's esteem, rising as great men do to meet the crises of their country, he was made in 1770 Agent for the four provinces of Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Georgia and New Jersey. Lord Hillsborough, lately made British Secretary for the Colonies, refused to recognise this new appointment, but his discourtesy did himself no good, and he had to give place to the gentler Dartmouth in 1772.

Meanwhile a British army was quartered at Boston, where the old trouble had broken out afresh, and in

¹ *Annual Register*, 1766, p. 114.

² MS. Letter, 13.vii.1768, in the author's possession.

³ Letter to W. Logan, Gilbert MSS.; also Letter to J. Pemberton, 16.ix.1768, Etting MSS.

order to overawe the disobedient colonies, the so-called "Massacre" took place on March 8, 1770. The Americans retaliated by again boycotting goods from the home country. This had at first little effect in England: the merchants trading to America were indeed great sufferers, but British commerce was flourishing and expanding elsewhere. New York seceded from the boycott: this, Fothergill thought, would undo them. "I often remember," he writes, "the motto of a noble English family, *Aut nunquam tentes aut perface.*"¹

The temper of the colonists was rising. In 1773 Franklin took the audacious step of sending out to the Speaker of the Massachusetts Assembly Governor Hutchinson's and Oliver's private letters to England, which had in some way come into his hands, and which revealed their underhand tactics. It should be said that interference with private correspondence was common in those days and often practised by the government. The tea was spilt in Boston harbour in December. In the following month, January 1774, Wedderburn, Solicitor-General, denounced Franklin in his presence before the Committee of the Privy Council, delivering that famous invective, whose scurrilous words were echoed by the open laughter of the councillors, except Lord North. Franklin would be known, cried the minister, as *homo trium litterarum—f-u-r*, a thief: but "vir" was substituted by his French admirers. The American was then dismissed from the office of Colonial Postmaster-General. This ill day's work struck a heavy blow at his love of England, from which it never recovered.

As the obstinacy of the king and Tory government yielded nothing to reason, and the contest became more formidable in aspect, Fothergill's habitually cautious and judicial mind was much stirred, and we find him writing in trenchant language to a friend in India. The measures of the government, he says, have been uniformly oppressive, not by system

¹ J. F. to Thomas Fisher, 20.ix.1770, J. M. Fox MSS. "Aut non tentes aut perface," the motto of the extinct dukedom of Dorset, and of the present family of Magrath: it is derived from Ovid.

or intention, "but merely from that kind of disposition which leads John Bull always to think of his own importance in the first place, and to hate most heartily any other person who dare think he may be mistaken." The people in this country are strangers to the power, usefulness and loyalty of the Americans. The legislature is imbued with an opinion that it can do what it will, "and that a people so contumacious ought to be chastised and restrained. Hence a series of acts which will everlastingly disgrace the annals of the present time." But "they begin to find the infant grown too much a man to be whipped like a schoolboy"—a nation of two millions of people, which can muster 50,000 men well trained in arms, and led by officers who fought at Louisburg and Martinico. Who, he adds, can "quite command himself when he sees the foundation of a most glorious fabric [of empire], rising fast to meridian splendour, dug up by piecemeal, through insufferable ignorance and pride? Cast an eye upon the distant possessions of our neighbours; are they not so many pledges for their good behaviour, whilst we and America are one? Shall we dismember such a part of the British Empire for moonshine?"¹

¹ J. F. to G. Ironside (?), Dec. 22, 1774, perhaps Edw. Ironside, later of Twickenham, who died 1803; C. Roberts Collection, Haverford Coll. Pa.; printed in *Bulletin Frds. Hist. Soc. Amer.* v. 2. The sources of this chapter have been mostly stated in the footnotes. MS. letters of Fothergill have been freely used.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE CONCILIATION PROPOSALS, 1774, 1775

Wo eine absolute Gerechtigkeit, was so selten möglich ist, noch nicht Statt finden kann, wenigstens eine friedliche Ausgleichung, nach dem Princip der Billigkeit und dem christlichen Gesetz der Liebe, allem andern voranstellt.—SCHLEGEL.

I am not bound to win, but I am bound to be true. I am not bound to succeed, but I am bound to live up to the light I have.—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Of all sad words of tongue or pen,
The saddest are these: "It might have been."

WHITTIER.

What is our failure here but a triumph's evidence
For the fulness of the days?

R. BROWNING.

IN the autumn of 1774 events were moving on rapidly to a rupture between the American colonies and the home government. In the minds of the colonists loyalty still struggled with the sense of outraged liberties, but rebellion was in the air. Boston was the centre of the trouble, since it was principally affected by the four penal acts which had been passed in the spring, but the other colonial Assemblies were also fermenting with clamours for resistance and for the boycott of British manufactures, and a general Congress had been summoned to meet at Philadelphia in September.

Franklin was still in London. Attacked as he had been and denounced, his authority denied, and his character maligned, yet the philosophic temperament and the *bonhomie* of the old statesman kept him serene, and he moved, erect and unashamed, hardly even embittered,

among his enemies and his friends. But the sands were running out.

The administration of Lord North, who had become prime minister in 1770, pursued its course—taxation, restriction, punitive measures, military occupation—these were just treatment according to the wisdom of those days to apply to free-born Britons in the colonies. The affairs of America came often before parliament, and the acts for closing Boston harbour, and breaking the charter of the colony of Massachusetts, had been carried in the House of Commons by large majorities, against the Whig Opposition. A solid phalanx of votes supported the king and the administration, although the means by which many of these votes were secured were corrupt. The monarch, to whom most of the colonists, and the Friends on both sides of the Atlantic, still looked with pathetic loyalty as to a “good and virtuous king,” was the mainspring of the ministerial policy. To do him justice his motive was pious and consistent; “I entirely place my security,” he writes to Lord North, “in the protection of the Divine Disposer of all things.”¹ But his idea of kingship was one of personal autocratic rule; he was blind to the rights of a free democracy; he was grossly misinformed as to the real condition of America by some of his own ministers—the Earl of Sandwich, secretary for the navy, looked on the troubles in New England as merely a Brentford Riot on a larger scale; and to the very last phase of the struggle the “logic of facts” made no impression upon his mind.

Although however the official classes and country gentlemen, with the support of Samuel Johnson amongst others, and of many Scotsmen, upheld the repressive policy of the government, the instincts of the people of England, ill represented in parliament, were more just and generous. Ignorance and apathy indeed were too prevalent, yet the merchants, the dissenters and the common people, with most Irishmen, were, so far as they understood the case, on the side of the colonists. John

¹ Feb. 15, 1775. George III. *Letters to Lord North*, i. 229.

Wesley, though he disapproved of their measures of resistance, implored Lord Dartmouth to desist from forcible repression. "For God's sake," he wrote, "for the sake of the king, of the nation, remember Rehoboam! Remember Philip the Second! Remember king Charles the First!"¹ The Whig party made a good show in debate in both Houses of parliament during the winter of 1774-75; the ministry were subjected to a searching criticism and plain words were spoken on both sides. Pitt, now become Earl of Chatham, had long been the foremost upholder of the rights of America; he had lately recovered from his long mental illness, and the thunders of his eloquence were never heard to greater effect than during this session, when Burke also delivered the finest of his speeches in the same cause. The star of Fox had not yet risen.

No thinking man, unless blinded by ignorance or prejudice, could fail to see how imminent was the crisis. Some members of the ministry were uneasy and desired conciliatory measures. This was the case with the prime minister himself, Lord North, a good-natured man, able, versatile, disinterested and witty, but weak in resolution. The publication of George III.'s letters in 1867 has changed the verdict of history, and has made it clear that the coercion of America was no choice of the minister's. Loyalty to his insistent king prevailed over all else, and it is North's sad record, that for five long years he carried on a war of which in his heart he disapproved, and that to the end of his days he bore in silence the reproach that belonged to his ungrateful master. The secretary for the colonies, Lord Dartmouth, a kindly and pious man—"the most amiable man I ever saw," wrote Governor Hutchinson—had, like his chief, no firmness of character to stand up against his unbending colleagues in the cabinet. Yet he knew the strength of American feeling, being well informed by such correspondents as Joseph

¹ June 14, 1775. *Dartmouth MSS.* Hist. MSS. Comm. xi. App. v. 378; George III. *op. cit.* i. 269 note. Priestley wrote his *Address to Dissenters on the subject of the Differences with America* at the request of Franklin and Fothergill. *Mem. Priestley*, 1904, p. 40.

Reed.¹ Even Lord Barrington, the minister for war, disapproved of coercion.

Was there nothing more that could be done to stay the oncoming of an unnatural war? It was known that Franklin would soon depart from England; his liberty indeed was hardly secure, and he might be arrested any day. Yet he was the man who surely could help to an agreement: a statesman of cool temper, no extremist, a friend to England, and high in the confidence of his compatriots. Some of the Whig leaders sought his company; the great Chatham welcomed him to his mansion with "affectionate respect"; and he visited Lord Camden, whom he found of generous and noble sentiments, and "a clear close reasoner." Mrs. Howe, sister of Admiral Howe, inveigled him to her house to play chess, and introduced him to her brother.

It is not now possible to trace the precise influences under which the attempt at conciliation in which Fothergill bore a part, took its initiative. David Barclay, who was, as we have seen, a prominent Whig merchant in the American trade, was on terms of friendship with Lord Hyde. Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, and grandfather of the distinguished statesman of the Victorian era, was at this time chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. He was a man of long diplomatic experience. One day near the end of November 1774 Barclay was conversing with Hyde, when the latter asked him and Fothergill to attempt a compromise with Franklin before he left England. There is reason to think that Hyde was not acting without the cognisance of others in high station. Barclay went at once to see Fothergill. The mind of the latter was already working on a similar line. Writing to Pemberton three months earlier, he had suggested that commissioners should be sent over from America to act with Franklin for the obtaining of conciliatory measures, "with great moderation, yet with proper

¹ Ellen Chase, *The Beginnings of the American Revolution*, ii. 90; *Dartmouth MSS.* p. 373.

firmness." He repeats this in a letter to Logan on November 5.¹

As Barclay was in touch with Lord Hyde, so was Fothergill with Lord Dartmouth, the colonial secretary, whom he was seeing daily at this time in his medical capacity. He entered at once into Barclay's plan, invited Franklin to his house without delay, and the triumvirate met in Fothergill's study in Harpur Street on December 4.

The doctor laid the issues weightily before Franklin, and urged the power of his influence. They conversed long and earnestly, and in the end Franklin agreed to set down a series of articles which might at least afford a basis for discussion. The conference was resumed on a second evening, when Franklin produced a paper, entitled "Hints for Conversation, upon the Subject of Terms that may probably produce a *durable* Union between Britain and the Colonies."² The original drafts, in Barclay's handwriting, of the documents which were drawn up lie before the present writer. The paper is worn and brown with age; the writing is full of interlineations and corrections; but it is eloquent of anxious thought and patient labour, for these men, actuated by a pure patriotism, were essaying to stay the rift of an empire.

The articles were drawn up under seventeen heads. The old grievances of the colonies against the oppressive action of the mother country in curtailment of their liberties, were of course embodied in the paper. The tea duty must be repealed, and all sums received upon it were to be repaid to the several provinces; the latter clause was strenuously objected to by the two Englishmen, and as strenuously upheld by Franklin, but he probably gave way in the end. The Navigation Acts were to be re-enacted by the colonies themselves, a British naval officer residing in each colony to ensure their observance. All duties from Trade Acts were to be paid into the colonial

¹ J. F. to J. Pemberton, 23.8.1774, quoted by A. M. Gummere in An International Chess Party, *Bulletin Frds. Hist. Soc., Phila.*, I, i. p. 12; J. F. to W. Logan, 5.11.1774, J. M. Fox MSS.

² See Appendix A for the text of this and the other documents relating to the negotiation.

treasuries. Franklin wished to add the offer, that if Britain would give up its monopoly of American commerce, the provinces would submit to a tax in peace-time equal to that (presently described) in time of war ; but the others said this was totally inadmissible. No troops were to enter and quarter in any colony but with its consent ; the Englishmen thought this was asking rather much. The Acts restraining manufactures should be repealed ; this also was objected to, but Franklin would only consent to substitute " reconsidered " for " repealed." The salaries of judges and of governors were to be under colonial control ; collectors and custom-house officers were to be appointed by the governors, and not sent out from England. All powers of internal legislation in the colonies were to be disclaimed by parliament ; this provision they thought could not be obtained, but the attempt might be made. The articles bear witness to the essential part taken by trade interests in the dispute. All parties felt this, and Fothergill's prescience discerned that Britain, although then still supplying corn to neighbouring countries, would be dependent in the future upon America for this necessary food.

Then the penal measures of the last few years, under which the colonies were smarting, were to be annulled. The Massachusetts and Quebec Acts must be repealed and the freedom of Canada restored. The fortress of Castle William was to be given back, and, Franklin would add, no others built but with consent. The Treason Act of Henry VIII. was to be disclaimed, the powers of the Admiralty Courts reduced, and their acts re-enacted in America. Something was granted by way of concession from the colonies. Payment for the tea spilt in Boston Harbour was insisted on as a *sine qua non* by the English friends, and was tactfully put at the head of the articles ; and since this was a point of honour on which Franklin might hardly expect to carry his countrymen's consent, he was willing to devote his own private fortune to its fulfilment. Every colony should be untaxed in time of peace, but should agree to raise money on the king's requisition, with consent of parliament, in time of war. It was not easy to see how this should be limited, until Fothergill proposed that the grants should bear some definite proportion to the war-taxes on land paid in Britain—say not less than one-quarter or one-half of these, if they reached 3s. or 4s. in the pound respectively ; more might be added as a voluntary grant.

Copies of the Hints, modified after conference, were

communicated by Barclay to Lord Hyde, who "saw some light" in them, and by Fothergill to Lord Dartmouth. It is almost certain that they reached other members of the Cabinet as well, including Lord North.¹ Fothergill showed the paper also to the Speaker, Sir Fletcher Norton,² who was very anxious for a reconciliation. He thought the terms humiliating to Britain, but the doctor told him she had been unjust, and ought to bear the consequences and alter her conduct; the pill might be bitter, but it would be salutary and must be swallowed.

In the meantime (Dec. 18) the Petition of the Congress which met at Philadelphia in September arrived, pleading "the cause of liberty and mankind," still with "affectionate attachment to your Majesty's person"; but it received no more attention than its predecessors. A rumour of the negotiations reached the London money market, and stocks which had fallen three or four points showed some recovery. Meantime the chess-party conferences at Mrs. Howe's were going on, and Franklin was there introduced to Lord Howe, the naval admiral, who took a copy of the "Hints for Conversation" from his pocket, but said the terms were thought inadmissible. Could Howe, it was suggested, be sent over as a commissioner to negotiate? He would like, he said later, to take Franklin with him, and he should not lack for emoluments. Franklin declined any such favours. Howe was however genuinely desirous of a reconciliation, and continued to keep in touch with the American until near his departure.

But Fothergill's own information as to the views of ministers gave him little hope of success. "I am afraid," he writes to his friend Pemberton, January 3, 1775, "they will pursue, in one shape or other, the same destructive plan—at least it appears so to me—that no abatement of any consequence will be made, no material alterations or concessions. Of course if you are as

¹ See Appendix A, No. II. *Letter from Hyde.*

² He also was Fothergill's patient: the question of his retirement in 1780 on account of gout was left to the decision of Fothergill and Percivall Pott. Ford, *List of Franklin Papers in Lib. of Congress*, 1905, No. 591.

resolute as we seem unhappily to be firm, dissolution must follow." Knowing the Americans as he does, "I cannot," he says, "give up the opinions I have formed of them, of their rights and of their power likewise. But we know not what is for the best. It seems to be the will of Providence that after we have humbled the pride of the most potent Houses of Europe, we should be humbled likewise by our own selves. Had our greatest enemies the direction of our councils they could not drive us to a more dangerous precipice."¹

On January 20 Franklin attended the House of Lords by Chatham's invitation, to hear his motion for withdrawing the troops from Boston, and was charmed with his eloquence and wisdom. The motion was of course defeated; a little band of eighteen voted in its favour including the Duke of Cumberland, the king's brother. The ministry however felt that something should be attempted towards a settlement. A cabinet meeting was held at Sandwich's house on the next day, and adopted a curious resolution, in which the influence of the Harpur Street scheme may be traced. An Address was to be proposed to the two Houses, declaring that if the colonies made provision for the support of civil government and justice, and for their own defence, and in time of war contributed extraordinary supplies in a reasonable proportion to what was raised in Britain (this was Fothergill's article), the Home Government would desist from the exercise of the power of taxation except for commercial purposes. Whenever any of the colonies made a proposition of this kind, laws to embody it were to be considered. In the meanwhile the king was entreated "to take the most effectual methods to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature."² It is easy to see that this was a compromise between the conciliatory and the coercive parties in the cabinet, and that the last clause, enforcing subjection by arms, nullified its value as a measure of peace.

¹ Letter quoted by Sharpless, *Quakers in the Revolution*, p. 113.

² *Dartmouth MSS.* pp. 372, 373.

Lord Chatham was still busy, and was now drafting a plan of his own for healing the differences. He sought Franklin's advice, but was too eloquent to be a good listener. Chatham's Provisional Act for Settling the Troubles in America was introduced in the Lords on February 1; Dartmouth pleaded for its consideration, and North seemed ready to follow; but Sandwich denounced it; and turning at the same time to fix his eye on Franklin, who was present leaning over the bar, declared that the Bill was the work of a bitter and mischievous enemy of this country. His savage attack brought up Chatham with a generous encomium of the American, as "an honour, not to the English nation only, but to human nature." The Bill was rejected, and the same fate was to meet Burke's similar resolutions a little later.

Franklin now despaired of parliament. The friends nevertheless persevered, meeting again at Fothergill's house on the 4th. A paper of "Remarks on Hints" (Appendix A, No. III.) seems to have been considered at this interview; it may have been notes of a conversation with Hyde. In this paper most of the articles were agreed to. Those, however, relating to the Navigation Acts and the Admiralty Courts met with objection; some little relaxation might be obtained as to the restraint of commerce, and a concession by the colonists of a small tax in peace was urged. Franklin's version of the conference is less hopeful: the penal acts were to be repealed in small part only; and no concession made as to the entry of troops or the repayment of tea duties. But if the paper indicated Hyde's views, the ministry as a whole were still less favourably inclined. Some attempts were now made by the triumvirate to amend the articles objected to. Fothergill expatiated on the miseries of a conflict, and said that a bad peace was preferable to a most successful war, and that in a few years America would be able to make her own terms. Barclay averred that much lay in Franklin's power, but when (primed perhaps by ministers) he went on to hint that Franklin

might expect almost any honour or place if he succeeded, he roused only disgust in the American's mind : " they would give me a place," he said, " in a cart to Tyburn." " There could be no agreement while parliament claimed the power of altering our constitution." Some one stated that Britain could easily burn the seaport towns : so indeed she could, replied Franklin, but it would not alter the resolution of the Americans. " Take care what you do," he cried, " you will have to repay damages with interest." Fothergill smiled, not without some approval of these passionate words, and said he would repeat them to-morrow to Lord Dartmouth. The paper of " Revised Hints " (Appendix A, No. IV.) may have been drawn up at this conference or soon afterwards, but it opened a slender prospect of agreement. Hyde writes to Barclay on the following day : " Your letter, my good friend, raises surprise and concern : the light I saw is obscured, great hopes are baffled." The rubs must be " mollified by submission."

On February 6 Fothergill wrote as follows to Lord Dartmouth announcing the failure of the negotiation. The text of the letter seems to have been the subject of careful revision by Barclay and himself :

I wish it had been in my power to have informed my noble friend that our negotiation had been successful. But it is not. And this not owing to want of attention or willingness [in] my friend or me to promote a reconciliation ; nor to any opposition or refractory disposition in Dr. Franklin. Our difficulties arose from the American acts, viz. the Boston Port Bill, the Government of the Massachusetts & the Quebec Acts. As a concession to pay a tax was the *sine qua non* on this side ; so a rescinding of those acts, or rather repealing them, is the terms of reconciliation on the other.

As we had not permission to give any hopes that these acts would be repealed, to ask for anything else, however easily consented to here, would not be satisfactory on the other side. And therefore an assembly of delegates authorized to treat upon the means of establishing a good understanding between the parties at variance, without first removing this obstacle, would be wholly ineffectual. We found that the delegates to the late Congress were chosen in the respective

provinces by the people who have a right to vote for representatives, and in general by no other. So that whatever may be thrown out to the contrary we apprehend will be found not to be authentic.

Dr. Franklin ¹ would have no objection to meet the noble Lords who were pleased to intimate that our endeavours to promote a reconciliation would not be unacceptable, and to consider the whole affair with the utmost candour and privacy, could it in the least contribute to avert these evils which are inevitably impending, without some intervention, on both parts of this great empire.

Was the whole of Administration as cordially disposed to peace and as sensible of its advantages as Lord Dartmouth, I think there would be very little difficulty in accomplishing it. But I see and perceive so strong a current another way, that I despair without the interposition of Omnipotence of any reconciliation.

The only thing left for the generality of these devoted countries is to look for superior protection. The great will always be the great, in every revolution that can happen ; the poor will always be the heirs of misery, let who will be their superiors ; a numerous, a very numerous part of both countries, the middling people, who bear all burdens, who produce all the strength and happiness of states, these must be the sufferers.

Should the k[ing's] servants happily coincide in adopting the simple plan of pacification which our noble friends so generously concurred in, and *include the repeal of the acts above mentioned*, we have not the least doubt but ² America would immediately return to every just expression of duty both in language and in conduct. Dr. Franklin, should this be tacitly consented to, would have not the least objection to petition for the restoration of peace ; [to] offer on the part of Boston to pay the East India Company for the tea, tho' at the risque of his own private fortune, and endeavour *bona fide* to concert every means of a lasting and reciprocally beneficial union.

Should it however be determined to proceed with force to reduce the Americans to a different way of thinking and subject them by hostile means, I most sincerely wish that the enemies of my noble friend, if any such there be, may enjoy the power of issuing such sanguinary commission.

I am Lord Dartmouth's obliged and respectful friend,

J. FOTHERGILL.

¹ *First draft* : The party we conferred with.

² *First draft* : we hope.

The optimist Barclay, however, building hopes perhaps on the polite phrases of Lord Hyde, whom he had again seen, devised a new scheme, and sent a few days later for Franklin. The negotiators met once more at Fothergill's house on the 16th, and Barclay brought forward "A Plan which it was believed would produce a *permanent* union between Great Britain and her Colonies" (Appendix A, No. VII.). This scheme embodied most of the articles in the "Hints," but the difficulties were sought to be overcome by making the language less definite. The ministry needed an opening, some overture from the colonies which would save their face. The Agents therefore were to petition for the repeal of the acts: in the interim a commissioner was to have power to suspend them, and "it is to be understood" that they would be repealed when the petition had stated the objections of the colonists. It was thought that if this was agreed to it might prevent the sending out of more troops, especially if a commissioner—such as Howe or Hyde—went out to treat with the colonists. Franklin said that neither he nor the other Agents had any clear authority for petitioning, but he was willing to hazard it if it would do good, although the many petitions in the past had only been neglected. So he brought up next day drafts of petitions to the king and to Dartmouth, asking that commissioners might be sent out to meet delegates of the colonies. He insisted, however, to his friends that all the acts must be at once suspended and later repealed; and that damages ought also to be paid. They made common cause with Canada: "we must all be free or none." To trust in the government's examination and their doing what "may be thought necessary" was of no use. It was to say "Try on your fetters first, and then if you don't like 'em, petition and we will consider." Fothergill and Barclay had regretfully to tell him that the repeal of the Boston Port Act could alone be hoped for in the temper of the government, so Franklin pocketed his drafts, and the conference was at an end.

In the meantime (February 2) the ministry had passed

through parliament the coercive part of their cabinet resolution of January 21, an Address to the king referring to the "rebellion" in the colonies, and praying him to take effectual measures to enforce obedience. There was much debate upon it, and the opposition vote rose to 106 in the Commons.

On the 20th a more important step was taken: Lord North introduced his conciliation motion. His own party were surprised to see him in a new character, one indeed more congenial to his own feelings; they were unaware of the influences that had been at work, all these negotiations having been conducted in private. The Bill followed the lines of the cabinet's resolution of January 21, granting to any colony, which would provide subsidies for defence and civil government, exemption from all taxation, save for the regulation of commerce, and the net produce of the latter to be carried to the account of the colony. It was explained in debate that the subsidies would be proportional to those raised in England, which, as we have seen, was Fothergill's suggestion. Franklin states his belief that the original draft of the motion probably contained more of Barclay's "Plan," but that the concessions were curtailed before it was allowed to come forward. Indeed, as it was, North had much difficulty in carrying his resolution. The "king's men" opposed it until they received a hint that it was to pass: it was then carried by 274 votes to 88. The measure was a real and honest attempt to meet the colonists, and it may be regarded as perhaps the solitary definite outcome of the negotiations at Harpur Street. Had it come earlier, or had it now been accompanied by the repeal of the acts, it might have paved the way to an agreement. The new law was communicated to the colonies with an able and considerate letter from Lord Dartmouth. But it was accompanied with the dispatch of troops, and ere it arrived in America blood had been shed, and the time for half measures was past.

The hour drew near for Franklin to depart. A few days before he left London he met the two friends once

more by their desire at Fothergill's house ; the sadness of failure was over their spirits. They desired Franklin to convey this message to their friends on the other side : that it was now their fixed opinion that nothing could secure the privileges of America but a firm sober adherence to the terms of the Association made at the Congress ; and that the salvation of English liberty itself depended on the perseverance and virtue of America. Fothergill also wrote to Franklin that he should tell the Friends that " whatever specious pretences are offered, they are all hollow," and that " to get a larger field on which to fatten a host of worthless parasites is all that is regarded." ¹

Knowing as we do the course of later history, and that the liberties of Englishmen were to be forged anew in the fire of suffering, first in the loss of these colonies, and then in the long struggle with France, we may find it hard to realise that to men of clear vision in Fothergill's day the outlook was dark and doubtful, and that the cause of freedom itself was bound up with that of the oppressed colonists. If these were subdued by an imperious king, who held his parliament under corrupt control so that the voice of the nation was falsified, its bonds would be new riveted, and English liberty would become indeed a memory : the United States, in the words of Price, was " now the hope, and likely soon to become the refuge, of mankind."

The negotiation was a gallant attempt at the eleventh hour to stay the oncoming strife, and had a reasonable spirit or any true foresight prevailed in the British cabinet—*si mens non læva fuisset*—it might have been successful. The draft of a treaty had been formed, writes G. O. Trevelyan, " which would have had a merit rare in history, that of terminating a sharp and extended controversy rationally, equitably, permanently and without derogation to the self-esteem of either of the contracting

¹ See also Letter, J. F. to B. Franklin [Mar. 1775], Ford, *op. cit.* No. 2217. Fothergill and Barclay also suggested that if some person were sent to England by the Congress *with powers*, although ministers would not treat with them as such, yet it might have a good effect. Barclay to J. Pemberton, Mar. 31, 1775, Penna. Hist. Soc.

parties." It failed. Yet it was an effort that ought to have been made, and was well made, ere the rupture came—to try to the uttermost what reason could effect, and to demonstrate if that must be so that the opponents were too irrevocably set to admit of compromise.¹

¹ Authorities for this chapter, besides the MS. documents given in Appendix A and others cited in footnotes: Smyth's *Franklin*; Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*; Chatham, *Provisional Act*, etc., 1775; B. Williams, *Life of Chatham*, 1913; Lecky, *op. cit.*; G. O. Trevelyan, *American Revolution*.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE EARLY YEARS OF THE WAR OF SEPARATION, 1775 TO 1777

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.—From the *Declaration of Independence*, 1776.

There is not a single instance in history in which civil liberty was lost and religious liberty preserved entire.—J. WITHERSPOON, preaching at Princeton, May 17, 1776.

We shall fight for democracy; for the universal dominion of right, by such a concert of free peoples as will bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free.—President WOODROW WILSON, 1917.

ON March 21, 1775, Franklin set sail from Portsmouth, taking his final leave¹ of the parent country he “once held so dear,” and with him passed the last and only hope of a peaceful settlement. Six weeks he spent upon the sea, occupying himself in writing a detailed “Account of the Negotiations in London for effecting a Reconciliation between Great Britain and the American Colonies,” which is one of the main sources of the present narrative. Then he turned with philosophic calm to make those observations on the temperature and course of the Gulf Stream which have helped to render his name famous in

¹ He spent a few days at Southampton on his way home from France in 1785.

science. Much he must have revolved in his mind. The inveterate policy which bore sway in Britain was fully known to him : he had weighed it to the last ounce : he had hoped beyond hope for its amendment : he had cast all he was and had in the balance if so be it might avail.

By the time he landed on the American shores the sword had been drawn at Lexington (April 19). Bunker's Hill (June 17) soon followed. Franklin nevertheless entertained for some months (as we shall see) thoughts of possible peace : he thought that the non-importation policy would yet bring England to reason ; but he moved step by step away from these counsels to those of war, until the later events of the year, especially the burning of Charleston and Falmouth by the British, turned him into a separatist, inflexible, persistent, and, alas, bitter !

On March 17 Fothergill, with T. Corbyn, Jacob Hagen and Barclay, acting on behalf of English Friends, presented a petition to the king for a peaceful settlement : presuming not, they said, to justify the excesses committed, but trusting that men might be found to compose the present differences, and establish a reconciliation on that firm foundation—the reciprocal interest of each part of the British Empire. The king had no liking for petitions that conflicted with his own policy ; but he granted a gracious hearing to the Friends, though he gave none to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London. The Friends often exercised their long-established right of approach to the sovereign direct : Fothergill was generally chosen to head the deputation, as in 1761 and 1763 ; and the king thought well of the Quakers : “ they retain,” he wrote to North, “ that coolness which is a very strong characteristic of that body.”¹ It may be recalled that the royal hat was reverently doffed when Thomas Shillitoe delivered to the monarch a religious message in the stable-yard at Windsor in 1794.

In June a short address was sent out by the Yearly Meeting to colonial Friends. Their position was difficult.

¹ Geo. III. *op. cit.* i. 202.

They were champions of freedom, and their liberties had cost them much: they had come out of persecution in the old country to found a free community. It was a famous Friend, Isaac Norris, Speaker of the Pennsylvanian Assembly, who chose the inscription for the Liberty Bell, rung on the day of Independence: "Proclaim liberty throughout the land and to all the inhabitants thereof" (Lev. xxv. 10). But after their seventy years' rule in that province, the Quakers had gradually withdrawn, as we have seen, from political life, although there were some members of the society in the Assembly down to the time of the Revolutionary War. Quietist in religion, they had become politically a sort of colonial aristocracy, wealthy, conservative and inclined to be loyalist.¹ When, therefore, the colonists rose in defence of their liberties, most Friends felt that they could take no part in "commotions," disloyalty and opposition to the ruling powers, quoting from an ancient testimony of English Friends in 1696 on the occasion of a plot against King William III. The setting up, they said, and putting down of kings and governments is God's peculiar prerogative; it is not our business to have any hand or contrivance therein, much less to plot the ruin or overturn of any of them; but to pray for the king, and for the safety of our nation, that we may live a peaceable and quiet life under the government which God is pleased to set over us. To this Samuel Adams replied that he rejoiced that in the course of Divine Providence the time had come for setting up an independent empire in the Western Hemisphere.²

The province of Pennsylvania, indeed, at that time a foremost colony, was rich and prosperous, and even apart from Quaker influence disinclined for revolution. John Dickinson, chief spokesman of the province and a birth-right Friend, whose famous "Farmer's Letters" in 1768

¹ C. H. Lincoln, *The Revolutionary Movement in Pennsylvania, 1760-1776*, p. 14.

² Address of Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, 1st mo. 20th 1776, in Sharpless, *Quakers in the Revolution*, p. 127. The quotation is from Sewall, *History of the Quakers*, 1722, p. 665. For Adams, see John Fiske, *The American Revolution*, i. 186. See also MS. Letters from J. F. to W. Logan, Mar. and June 1775, J. M. Fox MSS.

had become a classic of freedom, made a firm stand for legal methods: the cause of liberty, he said, is not to be sullied by turbulence and tumult. And so it came to pass that the first Congress in Philadelphia (1774) was very moderate in its demands, and scouted the notion of independence. Friends on their part professed their loyalty to the king; and would pursue their work for freedom in a legal way through the regular Assembly. They regarded Franklin and the more ardent revolutionary spirits with suspicion.

At this crisis Fothergill did not waver. Neither his loyalty to George III., with whom he had been in personal touch, nor his peace principles, nor his Quaker quietism—none of these things hindered him from seeing that the cause of freedom must go forward and prevail. His friend Logan was one of those who disapproved of Franklin. To him Fothergill wrote on March 18, 1775:

Friends here are in general unanimous, and anxious for the preservation of the civil and religious liberties of our Friends in America. . . . I have received your epistle and testimony [*i.e.* of the Friends of Philadelphia]: the last has been laid before parliament by the ministry as a proof of your approbation of the measures carried on against the liberties of America. I must confess that I know not how to express the concern which thy letters gave me. I can only say that we are quite of opposite opinions; a case that has not hitherto happened in the course of our correspondence. . . . May I speak to thee in confidence? I think —— wish to reduce all America to the standard of Quebec and Canada—an abject slavish people, to be governed solely by the will of ——. I am satisfied that those who have stood up in defence of your liberties have carried some things to an extreme. But if the principles on which they act are just, shall we reprobate them because their supporters are not perfect, have committed excesses and often act from prejudice, passion or interest? I shall request Dr. Franklin to get a few of you together: he knows my sentiments fully, and the pains which D. Barclay and myself have taken in these affairs. Listen to reason, make every allowance for his resentment for unmerited injuries, for his sentiments bordering on republican, for his assion for the freedom of America; and yet there will be so

much sterling reason still left, as I hope will quiet thy doubts on these affairs.¹

In other letters at this period to the Friends in America, Fothergill counsels circumspection, calmness, keeping in unity, minding their own business, neither to "lean to the violent, nor to join the obsequious." "But," he goes on to tell them, "all is at stake,—life, liberty and property." "If America relaxes, both you and we are all undone. Submission to the prevailing power must be your duty. The prevailing power is the general voice of America."² Fothergill's counsels did not meet with full acceptance, as we shall see presently. On July 8 one more American petition was sent to the king, the "olive branch": they resolved it should be their last: the terms were still loyal, but "your Majesty's ministers," so it ran, "have compelled us to arm in our own defence." It was drawn up by Dickinson, signed by Franklin, and delivered by the Proprietary, Richard Penn, who sailed home for the purpose.³ In the meantime the war was proceeding. A new British army had gone out, though some of the ablest military and naval leaders declined to serve.⁴ Press-gangs were active in English towns; and Indians were employed as allies on both sides, giving to the unnatural strife an added horror.

¹ MS. Letter, J. F. to W. Logan, 18.3.1775, J. M. Fox MSS. Supply "Administration" for the hiatus purposely left in the original. Letters were often opened in the post. A part of Fothergill's very characteristic letter, for the use of which thanks are due to the generosity of Mr. Joseph M. Fox, is here reproduced from a photograph.

The letter speaks also of "our very valuable friend Rachel Wilson. She came up [to London, with her husband] under much suffering for the oppressive measures taken against America and wanted admittance to the K. [king]; every avenue was barred against her. She was seized with an inflammation of the liver" and died. R. Wilson was the wife of Isaac Wilson of Kendal, and mother of three sons and of "the seven beautiful sisters." She became the ancestress of many families—Whitwell, Pease, Braithwaite, Savory, Messer, Wright, Stacey, Albright, etc., eminent among the Friends since those days; including also Elizabeth Priestman, the first wife of John Bright. Rachel Wilson had been for 36 years a minister among Friends, having travelled as such in America, when she gave the last efforts of her life to seek for justice on behalf of that land. See also *Picty Promoted*, iii. 92; *Pedigree of Wilson of High Wray, etc.*

² Quoted by Sharpless, *op. cit.* p. 118.

³ Geo. III. *op. cit.* i. 230 note.

⁴ E.g. Lord Howard of Effingham, Admiral Keppel, and Lord Chatham for his son. *Idem*, ii. 10.

I am satisfied that those who have stood up
in defence of your labors have carried some
things to an extreme. But if the principles of
worth they set are just - shall we reprobate
them because their supporters are not perfect?
have committed crimes, and often actions
prejudicial, before or interest.

I shall regard Dr. Franklin to get a few of
you together - he knows my sentiments fully
and the pains which Dr. Barclay and myself
have taken in these affairs. - listen to reason,
make every allowance for his resentment for
unintended injuries - for his sentiments border
ing on republicanism - for his passion for the
freedom of America - and yet there will so
much history reason shall be left as shall
well meet thy doubts on these affairs.

FROM A LETTER FROM DR. JOHN FOTHERGILL TO WILLIAM LOGAN, PHILADELPHIA,

DATED LONDON, MARCH 18, 1775

Fothergill could not contemplate the outlook without deep concern. The great free western lands, so dear to his heart, were now at war with his own country. Revolving these things in his mind as he went about his daily work, he struck upon a new idea. Could he and Barclay go out as mediators if the government were willing to send them? They were favourably known to Franklin, to leading Pennsylvanians and to others. Who knew whether they might not play the part of apostles of peace? It was a forlorn hope, but in such an issue the smallest hope should be cherished. He was ready to give himself for such a service. He writes to Barclay, probably in October: "I came home last night, extremely jaded, at ten. I could not forbear giving perhaps a very strong proof of it. If the enclosed are worthy of the least notice, or any part of them, I wish we could see one another this morning any time before nine."

With this letter he sent a memorandum dealing with the present position of affairs (Appendix A, No. X.). In this he pointed to the need of opening communication with those now possessed of the supreme power in America, *i.e.* the Congress, with the object of preventing further war, and cementing the empire in a firm union. Animosities were growing; whatever could be done must be done speedily, or the occasion was lost for ever.

Let some persons on whom government could rely, and who were not unknown to the leaders of the Congress, be sent out at once to propose:

(1) A measure to be passed, repealing the blameable acts, and putting the colonies in the *status quo* of 1762.

(2) If Congress accepted this, hostilities to cease.

(3) A general amnesty, forces to be disbanded, and ports reciprocally opened.

(4) An Assembly to be then convened at New York, at which delegates of the colonies should meet commissioners from England, to settle the due limits of authority on this side, and of submission on theirs.

The union between England and Scotland was to serve as a model, the differing conditions being taken into account. America had already three times the population of Scotland, and was doubling her people every twenty-five years; hence she claimed the more consideration. No power in Europe

would choose to offend us whilst we and America were one. Could then the right persons be found and sent out, rather in a private character as friends to both countries than with a public commission? Something was added of the storm that would arise when the British people discovered how they had been misled in this momentous matter. The Americans were our own stock; if impetuous, also placable; let us seek reconciliation, not subjugation by force.

Barclay probably made a fair copy of this paper for Lord Hyde, retaining Fothergill's rough draft, which is still among Barclay's papers; and Hyde may have shown it to North. A letter from Barclay to Hyde (Appendix A, No. XI.) probably refers to this scheme. In reply to Hyde's enquiry, what terms the commissioners should be prepared to offer, they must have, he says, ample powers to make reasonable and generous concessions, especially as to freedom from taxation and repeal of the Port Acts. Fothergill's idea that he might himself go out found no favour with the authorities; and he took effectual means to conceal the proposal from others: "it would appear so romantic, perhaps, as to lessen the credit of the writer."

Barclay had news from his friends in America of the ominous growth of the movement towards separation. Already in July he had written on this to Hyde (No. VIII.), and again in December he wrote, and through him to Lord North (No. XII.), telling them of the imminence of the final sundering of the two countries if another campaign were entered upon. Hyde in his reply (No. XIII.) seemed to think further war inevitable, but, he added, "your wishes and mine agree as to the end." In the following year, 1776, Barclay wrote again (No. XIV.) a letter which may have followed the receipt of bad news. He indignantly protested against the hostile measures intended to preserve the dignity of England, pointed to the fulfilment of his prophecies of the previous year, and begged to know what terms the government would admit.

In March 1776 the government sent out Admiral Lord Howe with more troops; he and his brother, General

Howe, were to act as commissioners to treat with the colonists. Once more the ministry tried to combine the use of force with conciliation ; but the latter was only half-hearted. Lord Howe was, as we have seen, Franklin's friend, and neither of the brothers approved of the British policy towards America. Fothergill and Barclay had strong hopes of his success as a peacemaker, and the latter wrote on their joint behalf on March 31 to Franklin, telling him that Howe continued as respectable a character as when they last parted, and that it would not be for want of inclination in him if the olive branch did not flourish.¹ But Franklin had now gone far on the path of revolution. By the time Howe arrived off Sandy Hook on July 12, the Declaration of Independence had been signed ; Franklin met his overtures of " pardon upon submission " with scorn, and there was nothing left for Black Dick, as his sailors called him, to do under his instructions but to prosecute the war. This he did, and did it ably, yet he can have had little heart in it, for he begged in the following year to be recalled, and gladly gave up his charge in 1778.

Separation had become inevitable. The famous pamphlet of Price on civil liberty had come out in February 1776, and spread like wildfire : its author received the Freedom of the City of London. The Declaration of Independence, July 4, received no Quaker signatures. The Friends would not acknowledge the revolutionary government which was set up, nor serve under it in any capacity, either as electors or elected : they would pay no taxes nor handle its money. There is little doubt that it would have been better had they taken Fothergill's advice, and recognised a *de facto* government as the authority to which they might rightly bow, distinguishing between the claims of war and the demands of a state. As it was they were classed as dangerous Tories, obnoxious to the community. Many, however, of their younger men

¹ MS. Letter, Amer. Philos. Soc., printed in *Some Letters of Franklin's Correspondents*, 1903, p. 25. See also Letter, J. F. to J. Pemberton, 30.iv.1776, Etting MSS.

joined the American army—they might be heard exercising: "Shoulder thy firelock"¹—and a very few joined the British. The Quaker discipline, consistently maintained throughout, though with much patience, cast off at least 140 members in Philadelphia for these causes. A small schism indeed occurred, and a body called the "Free Quakers"—Friends who approved of military duties—established itself, and long maintained an existence; the meetings ceased about 1836, but a list of members was kept up for many years afterwards. Its meeting-house still stands at the south-west corner of Arch and Fifth Streets.² Pennsylvanian Friends suffered much at the hands of the new government, an arbitrary council: they lost large sums of money by fines and distrainments; their meeting-houses were taken for barracks; seventeen Friends, including the three Pemberton brothers, were banished to Virginia in 1777, some of them dying in exile; whilst two Friends were hanged in Philadelphia in 1778 for helping the British. It must be added that the Friends bore all their troubles with quiet submission and a certain dignity, that they upheld their principles without faltering, and were ever ready to put forth letters or addresses to maintain the cause of truth, and to advise and support their fellow-members. In the early days of the conflict they raised a subscription of about £2000 for the sufferers of all parties in Massachusetts, undertaking themselves the arduous and difficult work of its distribution; and Fothergill and the English and Irish Quakers emulated their charity, on a generous scale, later in the war on behalf of American Friends who were suffering. As a body the society prospered, and its numerous meeting-houses in the period succeeding the revolution were well frequented; this period probably saw the high-water mark of Quaker expansion in America.³

¹ Ellen Chase, *op. cit.*

² C. Wetherill, *Hist. of Religious Soc. of Friends called by some the Free Quakers*, Phila. 1894, privately printed.

³ See Rufus M. Jones, *Quakers in Amer. Col.*; Sharpless, *op. cit.*; MS. Letters from James Pemberton, 1763, 1774, Frds. Ref. Lib.

Late in the year 1776 Franklin transferred his activities to Paris, and devoted his consummate powers to obtaining that French and Spanish aid for America which seems to have turned the scale in the long doubtful conflict. War brings strange companions; and ends must justify means—if they can ever do so: the atmosphere of the court of Louis XVI., in the years before the French Revolution broke out, was in no way worthy of the past of the American statesman, and it was surely another side of his character than that which had won the love of Fothergill which could work during all these nine years with the selfish duplicity of Vergennes, or submit to the public embrace of Voltaire. He was a notable figure at Passy; grander in his simplicity than the grandees of the court; receiving the homage of the French, both as philosopher and as apostle of liberty—*eripuit cælo fulmen sceptrumque tyrannis*—such was Turgot's epigram: "he snatched lightning from the sky, and the sceptre from the hands of tyrants"; and through all his glory and his toils—for the difficulties of his task were herculean—he was the same cool patient philosopher, not over scrupulous in his methods, but candid, tactful and humane.¹

As the war went on communications all but ceased between England and America: the ocean, scoured by privateers from French ports, became once more a gulf of separation. Fothergill still tried to write to his friends, and sent letters by Burgoyne, Howe, Strachey and others. Some were destroyed or lost, others probably opened; through Franklin in Paris he was more successful, and he kept in some touch with Pemberton by this route, although one letter is known to have occupied eleven months in transit.

¹ Franklin's house at Passy (formerly Rue Basse 40, later forming the corner of Rue Raynouard and Avenue Mercédès) stood on rising ground, looking southward across the Seine. An ornate mansion with an inscription in his honour occupies the site. A bronze statue by J. J. Boyle, the gift of J. H. Harjes, was set up in the Place du Trocadéro in 1906: a stout figure with a benevolent face is reclining in a chair. More satisfying are the reliefs on the pedestal by Brou, "Réception à la Cour," 1778, and "Signature du Traité du Paris," 1783. The words of Mirabeau in 1790 are added: "Ce génie qui affranchit l'Amérique, et qui versa sur l'Europe les torrents de lumière! le sage que deux mondes réclament."

CHAPTER XXVIII

FOTHERGILL'S WORK IN WAR-TIME, 1777 TO 1780

For ills to conquer ; for the love that fights ;
For that strong faith that vanquished axe and flame
And gave us Freedom for our heritage ;
For peace in strife ; for gain in seeming loss ;
For every loss that wrought the greater gain ;
We thank thee, Lord !

JOHN OXENHAM.

At length we are in Peace. All wars are follies, very expensive and very mischievous ones. When will mankind be convinced of this, and agree to settle their differences by arbitration ?—FRANKLIN, 1783.

I can only hope that in future all who love freedom here will hold converse with all who love freedom there, and that the two nations, separated as they are by the ocean, come, as they are, notwithstanding, of one stock, may be in future time united in soul, and may work together for the advancement of the liberties and the happiness of mankind.—JOHN BRIGHT, 1863.

THE war was a long and terrible struggle. He who would picture it aright must not take his colours altogether from tales set in the period. The novelist is apt to select the more extreme characters, persons of piquant traits, as if they were representative of the age. But letters and records of the time show that, side by side with corruption and folly, there was much sober thought and right living on both sides in this contest, and that it was rather stern duty than impulse and intrigue which governed its course.

During the year 1777 things went ill with the Americans. Their army dwindled, food and stores failed them, their paper-money fell to a low value, many amongst their own people were apathetic or hostile, and the outlook of

the cause was dark indeed.¹ The British, though badly led and often supine, occupied one city after another, overran the Jerseys, and at length, after defeating Washington at Brandywine, established themselves in Philadelphia on September 26, a city already half disaffected to the republicans.

Fothergill sent a message to Franklin in June, bidding him remember that if he had enemies he had also friends in England. He told him that the general language held there was that the American resistance was all at an end : that the authority of Congress scarce existed : that troops were deserting by shoals, and the officers were discontented : that neither France nor Spain would afford more than a kind of paralytic aid ; and that nothing could withstand the British forces nor prevent them from mastering the whole continent. In short the war, so people said, was *at an end*, and nothing remained to be done but to divide the country among the conquerors.² Towards the close of the year there came a revulsion ; and General Burgoyne with a considerable British army surrendered to the Americans on October 17 at Saratoga. After this event the French, who had long been giving them secret assistance, entered into an open alliance with the Americans.

A remarkable letter written in Fothergill's hand to Franklin seems to belong to this period. It is undated and unsigned, the names of persons and places are disguised, and it must have been sent by some means to Paris after France had declared war on England and whilst the British held Philadelphia. The letter is as follows :

There is, I doubt, one man in this kingdom who was permitted to be born for its chastisement, if not destruction. By education, by flattery, by disposition, capable of supposing

¹ News trickled slowly into England. A report on 'Change in London in May that the Congress and General Howe had entered into a treaty was credited to "Mr. Fox of Falmouth." MS. Letter, R. W. Fox to G. C. Fox, May 26, 1777.

² Letter to John Chorley (Fothergill's nephew) in *Memoirs of Franklin* (by W. T. Franklin), 1833, ii. 58.

himself superior to every other mortal, unfeeling, unalterable, persuaded there is no virtuous principle in mankind, and that nobody serves him but for interest, determined to make it their interest to serve him—and with such he is surrounded. Entreaties, petitions are disregarded, and their promoters stamped indelibly in the pages of vengeance and disgrace. Vice only lauded, impiety not discouraged, everything overlooked in those who have the will or the ability to flatter and support.

But what has brought us into such a situation ? We have long enjoyed the privilege of being as good, as virtuous and consequently as happy as mortals could be, and [yet] we have neglected and forsaken everything that could have made us great and happy.

At the eve of a war with united nations, the least of whom is at least our match, we are part of us immersed in pleasures, part in securing their retreat from power with pensions and reversions : totally disregarding the public good. The few who might be expected to step forward to aid our counsels, disunited, pursuing each [his] own opinion, and opposing that of others even in trifles. From such a state of things what can be hoped for ? Never was the justice of an Almighty Providence more displayed than by thus reducing a powerful, enlightened and yet haughty nation to the threshold of destruction, for their impious rejection of dependence upon it, and for plunging into war for causes the most unjust. I forget to whom I am writing, but my heart is as full of regard for all that has been connected with Britain as ever.

Save this devoted country from irretrievable ruin if possible : keep back the vengeance of F [France] as long as it can be done. Were the authors of our misfortunes to suffer I should repine the less ; but the sword makes no distinction.

Forgive the wretched inhabitants of P [Philadelphia] if they sided strongly, from principle some of them, and others from inclination, with their present masters ; they have been severely chastised for it, and still are. Attribute it to the weakness of their understandings and their honesty—for this was really the case—and not to their hearts. Take no advantage of their mistakes ; they are smarting under a rod sufficiently severe ; and I find it has made many converts.

We are here of opinion that good fortune still awaits us ; that you will quarrel and yet become an easy prey ; that the nation will rise as one man to assert their superiority over every other kingdom, and though one arm is cut off and the other tied behind her, yet Britain by only showing her teeth

will affright every foe. Is not this judicial blindness? From sheer ignorance and imposition the majority here has been against you; but *feeling has no fellow*, and we now begin to feel in good earnest, but it is only the beginning. Public and private credit are fast, very fast declining. Yet one man refuses his consent to any change of measures.

How often have I pleaded with all within my reach to send full powers to treat for a commercial union! I knew my friend's liberality of sentiment, his love to this country and many in it, would make him forget the injuries he had received, and have said that I knew he was incapable of admitting the behaviour of those who had strove to disgrace him, even for a single moment, [to] prevent him from co-operating for the public lasting benefit of both countries. But where must I end? With the most fervent wishes for the long life and health and immortal happiness of all who are disinterested friends to the liberties of Morika (?) [America].

The pages of this letter which have been preserved may not be in consecutive order. Fothergill's mind, ever working for the future, had some suggestions for the government of America. He goes on:

Is it not worth a trial to endeavour to excite the operation of virtuous principle to the benefit of the community rather than solely aiming at defending it against the worst parts of human nature? Perhaps a *list* of fame, and another of infamy, would operate greatly to the public good, as China, in the best parts of its empire, has experienced. Let him who has distinguished himself for virtuous deeds, however humble the objects or his situation, be put on the list of fame for a period proportioned to the benefits or exertions. Let him who behaves amiss be condemned to the list of infamy, and let those be deemed infamous who, not being his immediate relations, countenance him. Cannot at least a part of human malignity be opposed in this manner in a way more consistent with the reason of man, as well as with the general spirit of the Gospel?

Try one experiment: abolish all oaths and affirmations as the evidences of truth. Let this rest on the simple assertion. Truth ought never to be made so cheap as to have it suspected that under certain formalities it is a crime to forsake her, and that without those formalities she is of no consequence. In short nothing seems to patronise falsehood so much as maintaining a supposition that truth is not at all times of equal reverence. Let falsehood be punished as perjury. The

Quakers furnish a proof that oaths are not absolutely necessary, and I know that to some of them the affirmation permitted to them in England is considered a reproach, and degrading to the dignity of human nature. What, says one of them, have I done to give occasion to suppose that I do not speak truth at all times? Let it be declared, that though such kind of formalities are dropped, yet it is expected that a still greater reverence should be paid to *truth*, and that it should be made a part of universal education : that a deviation would be punished by consigning the transgressor to lasting infamy ; and that if parents wished their children to avoid such a sentence it must be their fixed resolution to keep to truth inviolably. To suggest an idea conducive to support good government on a principle consistent with the dignity of human nature will not be deemed improper, when a plan of government is under consideration of the most extensive and it is hoped of the most durable nature.

Would it not be consistent with sound policy to avoid as much as possible enacting any laws for the recovery of debts, and to encourage as much as possible what may be called a ready-money trade? There can be only a certain quantity of commerce in the world : the more equally this commerce is diffused, the more numerous are those who are benefited by it. A man trusting to the laws for the recovery of his property entrusts a person of reputed credit with a large share of his property. The person so entrusted increases his reputation by this very means, and carries on a share of commerce which would have supported many families. He grows negligent, vicious, extravagant, and squanders in excess, or in injudicious projects, the substance of multitudes. He falls into disgrace, and lives on a portion of his spoils, and spreads ruin and distress even to the unborn. This is the consequence of supposing there are laws by which we can recover our substance, when we have entrusted them to the end of that line, where the necessity of self preservation begins. In cases of trust such laws should be provided. If A, who has a numerous family of children, trusts B, whom he thinks a man of inflexible integrity, with a part of his substance, and dies, it is necessary that the children of A should as far as possible be secured from any loss that might arise from their father's good opinion of B's honour and ability. If all the laws of recovery and the bankruptcy laws were abolished it would be a happiness to this country. Every man would trade according to his *real* not *reputed* ability.¹

¹ MS. Letter, Amer. Philos. Soc. lvi. 1. 12.

This letter reveals Fothergill's thought at a dark hour of the war, when Britain seemed likely to be crushed by the alliance of America with European Powers, and in the gloom even his judicial mind had lost some sense of proportion. Perhaps it was written, as was his wont, late at night, when he was weary after a long day of labour. He had come to know, what history has been slow to reveal in its fulness, that at the very root of the trouble lay the dogged and inveterate purpose of one man, and sorrowfully Fothergill turned from his long personal attachment to his monarch, and drew his portrait in words of severity and reprobation. Perhaps they were hardly just to a narrow intellect and a misguided conscience.

The news of the British disaster at Saratoga reached England in December, and the advocates of conciliation and agreement began to look for a fresh opening. A memorandum of Barclay's headed "Plan, 1777" (Appendix A, No. XV.) may belong to this period. It included most of the articles in the original "Hints for Conversation," but substituted those from "A Plan," 1775, on the following topics: taxation in time of peace and war, the Navigation Acts, residence of a naval officer and the acts restraining manufactures. To these other articles were added: an Act of Oblivion; taxes to be allowed to redeem the paper-money issued by Congress; perhaps also the repeal of the Declaratory Act; and the colonies to be governed by a Congress, subject to the veto of a Viceroy. A letter from Fothergill to Barclay (see No. XVI.) most likely refers to a conversation following these proposals. He writes:

21st inst.

When I reflect, my dear friend, on the disregard, call it by no harsher a name, with which our opinions have been uniformly treated, though the events have shown them to be not imprudent ones, it affords me but a melancholy proof that everything we can suggest will either be totally neglected or adopted but by halves. For these considerations I am against offering any opinion at all, on a strong presumption that

what [I] may offer will just have the [like] fate with our former endeavours.

Two years ago, nay one year, I believe we should neither of us have hesitated to go even to America, and had our powers been then *what they ought to have been*—at the former period we should have prevented independency, and at the latter, [established] a firm commercial compact, and prevented desolations that will, whilst history remains, disgrace the annals of this unhappy country. Treated however as we have been, I will please myself with a hope that what may now be suggested by us will be better attended to, and therefore again put down the result of our conversation last night as still my opinion.

That the matter is too far advanced for any private person to do the public any good is most certain. Perhaps all modes of preventing the approaching calamities will be utterly ineffectual.

I still think that Lord Stormonth should leave Paris, as coming home on his private affairs, or to be sent to some other place.

That another should be sent in his place—one not obnoxious to the Court of Versailles, nor unknown to Franklin.

That his business should be with the latter, and his instructions should be only :—Say to F., What measures can at this juncture be adopted, most for the benefit of this country and America, and these to be adopted by us, *bona fide*.

A single reservation will destroy the whole, and render this attempt as ineffectual as all the expedients have been hitherto.

It requires an amplitude of heart which I fear is not to be met with to save us from ruin. But it must be on a ground like this that we can be saved if we are [to be] so. Two months ago a private person thus instructed might have done everything. It must now [be] the business of a man in a public and responsible character.—I am thy afflicted friend,

J. F.

It is possible that the labours of the two Friends had some influence in what followed. Stormonth was recalled, and secret overtures of peace were made about this time to Franklin in Paris by English emissaries, but without result.¹

¹ The statement by Smyth, that Fothergill took actual part in these overtures, seems to be unfounded. Smyth quotes a letter which belongs to 1780, and will be referred to presently. *Op. cit.* x. 330.

On February 19, 1778, measures of conciliation were laid before the Commons. The British cabinet was at last wholly convinced of their necessity. North, unhappy leader in a failing cause, said that he had been so convinced all along; consent was wrung from an unwilling king, and the new bills were carried through a perplexed parliament. The Boston Act was repealed, and the tea duty, and no tax was to be imposed for revenue in any of the colonies. Five commissioners were to go out with unlimited powers, to treat with all Assemblies or persons, even with the Congress, to stop hostilities, to grant pardons, to suspend all laws, and in particular every challenged act since 1763, to restore to all the colonies their former constitutions and allow them to nominate governors; but no regulations were to be finally binding until confirmed by parliament. The chief points for which Fothergill and Barclay had earnestly contended three years earlier were thus conceded. Everything in fact was yielded to the Americans save their independence, and even this was not to be renounced until the final ratification of the treaty.¹ The aim of the ministry in these measures was sincere; there was no real ground for the assertions freely made in parliament, and believed by Franklin, that their true purpose was to divide and weaken the colonials.

Alas for the tragedy of things! The day of visitation was over; it was now too late. A treaty with France based on independence had been signed. A British army was in captivity; besides, the hands of the ministry, which still included Sandwich, Wedderburn and Hillsborough, were too soiled with the blood of war to offer boons: *timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*. The Congress rejected the terms, nor did an appeal from the Congress to the States fare better. War had to go on.

Little can here be said of its further progress: how the British responded to the emergency; how the public voice called for Chatham but the king refused to see him; how the contest assumed a harsher spirit; barbari-

¹ *Statutes at Large*, xxxii. 3, 18 Geo. III. c. xi.-xiii.; Hansard, xix. 762.

ties like the destruction of Wyoming sullyng its course, and these more on the British than on the American side. The employment of Indians in warfare drew from Burke one of his most eloquent protests, and an indignant plea from the dying Chatham. It was hard to bring a conflict waged over so vast an area of a thinly peopled country to an issue. All the important towns had been taken at one time or another by the British, and provinces had been overrun, but they were not captured; the people were unconquered, and through the following years, down to Fothergill's death at Christmas 1780, the fate of the war by sea and land, though moving to an inevitable end, was still undecided.

The effects of the war in England were in the meantime disastrous. Its cost brought heavy taxes, ruin to many industries and general distress. In 1779 the depression in the country was great. Spain declared war in June, and in August the combined fleet of that power and of France like a second Armada entered the Channel and threatened Plymouth for fifteen long weeks, bringing consternation and panic to the southern counties; whilst the ubiquitous Paul Jones descended upon Whitehaven, raided Lord Selkirk's mansion at Kirkcudbright, and seized a convoy near the mouth of the Humber.

A movement for reform, economy and the redress of grievances began to take shape among the counties of England. Yorkshire took the lead. Public meetings were in those days almost unknown, but there was a tradition that the free-holders of a county might meet together to formulate an address to the king: they had done it in '45. Christopher Wyvill was the apostle of the cause, and at his instance 209 free-holders signed the summons to a memorable gathering at York, which assembled on December 30, 1779. This was the origin of the Yorkshire Association—a model which was followed by twenty-eight other counties and at least eleven cities or towns, having as its objects to limit the powers of the Crown, to purify parliament and to enlarge the franchise. Although the Association lasted only a few years, it

proved to be the first organised step in that movement for reform which, carried on under varying fortunes for half a century, led to the victory of 1832, and brought in democracy for England.

Fothergill, who seems to have been a Yorkshire freeholder, addressed a letter in December to his friend, the Rev. H. Zouch of Sandal, which was read in a committee of the assembly. He was perhaps a little afraid that the new reform movement would go to an extreme. Writing with his accustomed modesty, but with much knowledge of the temper of those in authority in London, Fothergill sought to divert the assembly from following lines of petition that had no chance of success, lest "an attempt for general reformation be stifled in its infancy." They should use temperate yet firm language; although there was no room for flattery, they should shun everything offensive and all invective. If they moved for retrenchment in expense and to abridge the power of the Crown they would obtain nothing; nor let them make any reflection on the king or ministry. The necessary points in his view were to dwell upon the general decay of the county, the decline in manufactures, commerce and land, and the poverty of the people under heavy taxes; and to pray that peace might be restored with America, since the war was the main cause of the distress; economies of lesser importance might then be solicited. A petition from the Association in favour of reform was presented by Sir G. Savile on February 8 following.¹

An anonymous pamphlet, "An English Freeholder's Address to his Countrymen," appeared in the same year, 1780. Lettsom intimates that Fothergill was the author, and that the work contains the substance of letters from Fothergill to Zouch. The Address is hardly characteristic of Fothergill's pen, nor is it written with so much force as his paper on the Stamp Act. It consists in the main of a plea for making peace with America. War had now

¹ Foth. *Works*, iii. p. clxix; G. S. Veitch, *The Genesis of Parliamentary Reform*, 1913, pp. 58 ff.; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* arts. Savile and Wyvill. A letter from Fothergill to Zouch on other topics is in a Collection of Autographs in the possession of John Albert Bright.

continued for four years with doubtful fortune ; the States were declared independent ; America was, it was urged, invincible ; as we could not have her for a dependent, let us keep her as a friend ; and recover her commerce and her support. The state of things at home and of affairs abroad combined to compel us to forgo revenge and to make peace.¹

Fothergill, as already said, did not live to see the end of the conflict. Lord Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown in November 1781 ; this event, and the successes of the French in the West Indies, at length roused the long-suffering British people to demand peace with a voice that must be obeyed. The king bowed, not without a thought of abdication, to the political storm ; North resigned ; Rockingham and the Whigs came in—Burke, Fox, Camden, Richmond—and peace was made in 1783 by Great Britain, who recognised in her eldest child the full rights of an independent nation.

The friendship between Fothergill and Franklin found only occasional expression in these years of war and separation. It was not easy to convey letters, and only some of them have been preserved. Thus Fothergill wrote in 1780 to ask Franklin's good offices in behalf of Lady Huntingdon's interests in America.² Franklin replied from Passy on the 19th of June.

My dear old friend, Dr. Fothergill, may assure Lady H. of any service in my power to render her, or her affairs in America. . . . I rejoiced most sincerely to hear of your recovery. . . . Be pleased to remember me respectfully to your good sister, and to our worthy friend David Barclay, who I make no doubt laments with you and me, that the true pains we took together to prevent all this horrible mischief proved ineffectual. I am ever yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.³

¹ *Works*, iii. 31.

² The Countess of Huntingdon had taken a generous interest in Whitefield's Orphan House in Georgia. She was Fothergill's attached patient, and he esteemed her integrity of heart and simplicity of dress and conduct ; although he adds : " perhaps in the guise of zeal, an enemy may steal in." See *Mem. S. Fothergill*, p. 461 ; T. W. Aveling, *Memorials of the Clayton Family*, p. 27.

³ Bigelow, *Franklin's Works*, vii. 90.

Fothergill's reply to this letter is one of the last he ever wrote. It is dated 25th of October 1780.¹

When I received my honoured friend's obliging letter by Dr. Waterhouse little did I expect it would not be in my power to return a more speedy answer. Allow me to forget that I am writing to a minister to one of the first courts of Europe from a state the most promising of any that ever inherited any part of this globe. . . . Lady H. is much obliged to my friend for his kind intelligence and will act conformably. Much horrible mischief would indeed have been prevented had our superiors thought fit to pay any regard to our humble endeavours. But their ears were shut, their hearts hardened, things became delirious, and the poor Greeks suffered for it. . . . Pride and vengeance are very fallible counsellors. I think I see all Europe slowly leaguering against us, to retrench our power and to increase their own by an open commerce with America.

In the warmth of my affection for mankind, I could wish to see engrafted into this league a resolution precluding the necessity of general wars,—the great object of universal civilization,—[by] the institution of a college of Justice where the claims of Sovereigns should be weighed, an award given, and war only made on him who refused submission. No one man in the world has it so much in his power as my honoured friend to infuse this thought into the breasts of princes, or of those who rule them and their affairs.

Let me touch on a lesser point, in which I also wish to engage a moment of my friend's attention. The most extensive capacity, the greatest human mind, may possibly overlook some humble yet proper objects, such perhaps as that which I am going to mention. Establish thro' all the united states as speedily as possible one general standard of weights and measures, and let this standard be directed, if I may use the expression, by squares. The weights which the apothecaries use are, first a grain : 20 make a scruple : 3 scruples a dram : it is impossible to reduce any of these weights to a unit without a fraction. No more can the foot nor the yard nor measures of capacity [be so reduced]. Let the scruple consist of 16 grains, 4 scruples to make one dram, 8 drams one ounce, 16 ounces one pound ; and pounds to be reckoned by decimals if thought more convenient. I rather describe these circumstances to explain my meaning than as the identical rules

¹ MS. Letter, Amer. Phil. Soc. xx. 138.

that ought to take place. Why not institute an American standard, and at this moment, when your trade is less than it ever will be hereafter while you exist? The diversity and confusion on this island, not to say in Europe, is a sufficient proof of the need there is of such a reformation: no time more proper for it than the present: no one more capable of forming the basis of such a regulation than my friend; and if proper I know it will be encouraged.

I sent a long paper on *oaths* by a gentleman of my acquaintance from Maryland. Pray keep this subject in sight. The Massachusetts government has adopted such a plan in part: they have allowed those who conscientiously refuse an oath to qualify themselves for offices by an affirmation. This is liberal, and the more to be regarded, as I dare say it sprung from the breasts of those who had the modification of this government committed to them, and not from any solicitation of ours, or of others who had similar scruples. It is a singular event in the history of the human mind, that a state heretofore considered as one of the most intolerant should have framed one of the most liberal plans of government ever framed.

[After relating the foundation of Ackworth School the letter goes on:] I dare not touch upon our situation, but it is tending to the point slowly yet certainly, which may probably prove extremely advantageous to us,—poverty and distress,—seldom enemies to virtue. Whilst a single man or a single guinea can be found peace is hardly to be hoped for; and while commissaries and a tribe of devourers are employed, they will always find means to urge a mind not disposed to relent in your favour to proceed with vehemence, however ineffectual. I think your business is to risk nothing. You lose in action for the most part the advantages you reap in patience. The late affair in Carolina is a manifest proof of it, and I fear if you prompt your general to do more than he ought you may still be sufferers. But I am not a judge of these matters. . . . With cordial regard and undiminished esteem I am thy affectionate friend,

J. FOTHERGILL.¹

The idea of a court or college to which disputes between the nations might be referred has been the dream of thoughtful minds during many centuries. It was not

¹ To a correspondent in Massachusetts, who had several times sent him information in the hope of aiding in the composition of the strife, Fothergill wrote a few days earlier, dealing with similar topics. See Letter dated Oct. 20, 1780, *European Magazine*, 1790, ii. 85.

unknown among the Greeks, and exercised in later times the minds of French jurists and of the Abbé de St. Pierre ; indeed the grand scheme of Sully might even have been attempted, had not his master Henry IV. been slain in 1610. It was often discussed by the philosophers of Fothergill's century. He had perhaps in mind Penn's Essay towards the Establishment of an European Diet, Parliament or Estates, published in 1693. The purpose of this Diet was to maintain peace by justice, and it was to consist of some ninety persons or votes, distributed among the states of Europe. Should one state refuse to submit to its decision, all the others, united as one strength, would compel obedience ; no state could resist this, and so peace would be preserved.¹

A few weeks after he had written this letter the wise and benevolent spirit of Fothergill passed away. Amongst the many works and influences with which his life was filled his friendship with Franklin was not the least. If the American held one of the foremost places in the history of his century, it is no small thing that his English friend, during many years of intercourse, should have done something to strengthen his character on the spiritual side, and to hold up a mirror of love and truth of which he was not unheedful.

When Dr. Waterhouse wrote from Leyden to tell Franklin of the death of his uncle, his "director, guide and friend," Franklin replied : "I think a worthier man never lived. For besides his constant readiness to serve

¹ Another Friend, John Bellers, published in 1710 a proposal for a like object. The Hague Tribunal of our own day has not fulfilled all the hopes of its promoters, yet probably it has prevented several wars. The action of the Concert of Europe in bringing the Balkan War of 1913 to a close and settling the terms of peace (although in the event these were not adhered to) marked some progress in international justice. The Powers worked for "the common peace which was their common object" (Sir Edward Grey) ; and this by regarding what was just to the states concerned, taking nothing for themselves ; rather than by the old principle of the balance of power. President Woodrow Wilson has done much in his messages and speeches to obtain recognition for a standard of justice in foreign relations. Such phrases as "British interests," "American interests," no longer rule paramount. The League of Nations if it comes to pass will be the fruit of a long growth of thought, in which Penn and Fothergill took their part. Notes on the history of the subject may be found in W. A. Phillips, *The Confederation of Europe*, and Havelock Ellis, *The Task of Social Hygiene*.

his friends, he was always studying and projecting something for the good of his country and of mankind in general, and putting others, who had it in their power, on executing what was out of his own reach ; but whatever was within it he took care to do himself ; and his incredible industry and unwearied activity enabled him to do much more than can now be ever known, his modesty being equal to his other virtues." Two years later Franklin added these emphatic words upon his friend's character : " If we may estimate the goodness of a man by his disposition to do good, and his constant endeavour and success in doing it, I can hardly conceive that a better man has ever existed." ¹

At length the old statesman returned home. It must have been hard for Franklin to exchange the éclat of the court of France for new toils and half-neglect in the land that owed him so much ; it was " not fashionable," so people said in Philadelphia, to visit Dr. Franklin. In the settlement of the constitution of the United States at Philadelphia in 1787 he took no small part, founded as it was, in its spirit and aims, upon the constitutions of the various provinces. Of these Pennsylvania was one of the chief ; and its frame was based on principles of liberty and religion laid down by Penn and the Quakers.² It may be added that the Revolution brought political equilibrium in that state only after a long and bitter struggle between the conservative and radical parties, which has left its traces to this day. The Friends had passed into opposition, and lost public influence. Franklin's cheerful and humorous temperament bore him unhurt through the heat of faction, and he saw the triumph of democracy ere he died in 1790. The two years of severe suffering which preceded his death were

¹ MS. Letter from Waterhouse, Jan. 10, 1781, Amer. Phil. Soc., *Calendar*, xxi. 15 ; Letters from Franklin, in Smyth, viii. 194 ; and in Foth. *Works*, iii. p. clxviii. Fothergill wrote : " A friend of mine tells me I have a tolerable good knack of finding work for my friends." MS. Letter to Huddesford, Ashmole MSS. 1822, Bodleian Library.

² President Wilson has spoken of William Penn as belonging to the " lineage of those who have sought justice and right," and as having a large part in establishing the free self-governing commonwealth of America. Address at Swarthmore College, Penna., Oct. 1913.

sustained with a cheerful fortitude based upon trust in God. When in 1789 he came to make his will the memory of his English Quaker friend was in his mind. "I request," he wrote, "... my friend, Mr. Hill, may also accept my silver cream-pot, formerly given to me by the good Doctor Fothergill, with the motto, Keep bright the Chain." The cream-pot consists of a delicate silver cup in the form of an egg, standing upon three claw-shaped feet, with a graceful ornamented handle. Partly upon the lid and partly upon the body of the cup is engraved the chain of friendship, with the motto stated above.¹

At this day we can look back with calmness upon the events of this stirring time and their results. We can see that the war sprang from the incompatibility between the aims of an old parental nation, then in a backwater of autocracy and corruption, and those of its free offspring settled on the wide lands of the west. The separation proved to be good for both countries. It was well for the American provinces, because they were set loose from bonds which had grown intolerable, and were knit together under the dark cloud of war to form a great nation, in which the thought and institutions of their European forefathers found a new and better fulfilment. It was well for Britain, that personal Hanoverian rule might receive an effectual check, and that, with new leaders called to the control of the state, she might learn to build her colonial empire in the future on the lines of liberty. For the pursuit of liberty goes on without ceasing; the history of the world, as it has been finely said by Hegel, is none other than the progress of the consciousness of freedom. It is sometimes stated in consequence that the war was inevitable, and worth while; that Fothergill and others who laboured to avert the conflict were toiling in a futile cause; and that George III., who seemed to be the dangerous enemy of both countries, proved to be their substantial benefactor.

¹ The cup was made by Smith and Sharp of London in 1765. It is now the prized possession of Mrs. Gummere, Haverford College, Penna. For Franklin's Will, see Smyth, x. 509.

But because certain events, and certain courses pursued, led to a particular result, we must not conclude that this result was inevitable. Had the courses, the counsels adopted been different, the result might have been different, or if the eventual result was inevitable, being just and necessary, it might have been attained by different methods. The thoughtful historian will reflect on what might have been, or on what probably would have come at a later time, without force or strife. There was talent enough in the world to devise a scheme of partnership between Britain and America, ensuring their mutual rights.¹

Was war then a necessary condition of gaining freedom? Time softens hard memories, even as nature clothes old ruins with smiling verdure, so that the awful reality of war is half-forgotten. Five or six years of waste and slaughter over a continent; the patient growth of a century turned into desolation; the clock put back, in arts, in science, in morals, in religion; ² commercial ruin, financial collapse—worst of all, waste of men, the true wealth of nations. These were the fruits of war.

The attitude of Fothergill was that of one animated by the spirit of justice and of liberty, and confident of its victory in the end. He would have the colonists oppose with unending patience and firmness an united front of reasoned protest and remonstrance to the oppression of the home government. In temperate but not servile language they should demand again and again the restoration of their rights and liberties. They might decline to import British goods but not resort to any violent means.³ It was thus he counselled his own friends in Pennsylvania. Was the outlook along these lines a hopeless one? A large party in England was already convinced of the rights of America; and a subservient ministry could not last for ever. The coming

¹ See Prof. D. P. Heatley, *Studies in British History and Politics*, 1913, pp. 36, 38.

² "We are eight years behind you in everything" Dr. Rush, Philadelphia, Letter to Dr. Cullen, 1783, in Carson, *Hist. Med. Dept. Univ. Penn.* p. 85.

³ Letter to J. Pemberton, 16.9.1768, Etting MSS.; and to T. Fisher, 20.9.1770, J. M. Fox MSS.

leaders of political thought in Britain were on the side of freedom. Chatham was passing, but his spirit survived him, and was clothed with a wider vision than his in the eloquence of Burke, the unrivalled powers of Fox, and the legal acumen of Camden. Would not the American cause have triumphed in the end without the rude arbitrament of war? It was Franklin's own belief before the war that the rise of the Whig and the trading interests would infallibly overthrow all the enemies of America, and produce an acknowledgment of her rights.¹ Too much stress must not be laid upon Whig convictions, for the party, though popular, was an oligarchy, and united only when in opposition. But liberty was in the air: the teachings of Price and the reforming spirit of Wyvill evoked a deep response. The short ministry of Rockingham in 1782 took some important steps towards reform, and the movement that was destined to lead on to democratic institutions in the future could not have withheld its sympathies from the cause of colonial freedom. Some justification then had Fothergill, a lover of liberty and of peace, for the position he took in this crisis. The government of the world might be founded on force, but of all the potencies those of right and truth and love would be found in the end the strongest.

The negotiations in which Fothergill bore a part were amply vindicated, when the British ministry offered to the Americans three years later much the same terms as they had themselves rejected when proposed by him and his friends. Theirs was a courageous effort, and its failure left an enduring regret on the mind of one who knew better than most men what was worth doing. Looking back across the waste of war upon his work with Fothergill, Franklin wrote thus to Barclay: "How much might have been done, and how much mischief prevented, if his, your and my joint endeavours in a certain melancholy affair had been attended to."²

¹ Feb. 1775, Smyth, vi. 309.

² Letter cited, Feb. 12, 1781; Letter, D. Barclay to B. F., Dec. 27, 1782, *Amer. Phil. Soc. Calendar*, vii. 84. The sources of this chapter other than those of a general historical character are indicated in the footnotes.

CHAPTER XXIX

FOTHERGILL AND THE MEDICAL INSTITUTIONS OF AMERICA

Tout ce qui vient des grands hommes est une sorte de ferment qui tend à reproduire le génie.—VICQ D'AZYR, *Éloge de Fothergill*.

THE province of Pennsylvania, free, enterprising and prosperous, took the foremost part in founding the medical institutions of America. A long line of physicians, from Thomas Wynne onward—he came over with Penn in the “Welcome” in 1682—practised their art at Philadelphia. Amongst these were Griffith Owen, a noted Friend; Kearsley, a favourite of the people; Graeme of Graeme’s Park; Cadwalader; Thomas and Phineas Bond; and the pupils of Kearsley—Zachary, Redman and John Bard. The intelligence of the colony found expression, through these and others of her sons, in the American Philosophical Society, set on foot by Franklin in 1743, and in the College of Philadelphia, 1749. In the former the names of Franklin and John Bartram head the list of members, and Fothergill’s name was added during Franklin’s presidency in 1770. In 1751 the Pennsylvania Hospital was instituted by Dr. Thomas Bond, ably seconded by Franklin, and the present building was commenced in 1755. Fothergill, who had known Bond when he was a student in England, took a warm interest in the hospital from the beginning, and with an eye ever open to the future growth and needs of America, looked forward to the development of a Medical School in connection with it.

At that time aspirants to a medical degree had to come to Europe to study. This had been done by most of

the physicians already named, and as the years passed a succession of able young men came over from Pennsylvania to England for this purpose. Fothergill welcomed them, invited them to his house, and interested himself in their studies, which were usually pursued at Edinburgh, giving them advice and facilities for seeing what was most worthy of notice. He took pains to estimate their characters and abilities, and when, after obtaining a degree and visiting some of the chief medical centres on the continent of Europe, they returned to America, he would write a discriminating account of their proficiency, and intimate what part in the growing institutions there he thought them best fitted to take.

Dr. William Shippen, junior, member of a family well known in Philadelphia, returned from his European studies in 1762. Fothergill writes to Pemberton: "I propose to send by Dr. Shippen a present to the Hospital of some intrinsic value. I need not tell thee that the knowledge of Anatomy is of exceeding great use to practitioners in Physic and Surgery, and that the means of procuring subjects for dissection with you are not easy. Some pretty accurate anatomical drawings, about half as big as the life, have fallen into my hands, which I propose to send to your Hospital to be under the care of the Physicians, and to be by some of them explained to the students and pupils who may attend the Hospital. In the want of real subjects these will have their use, and I have recommended it to Dr. Shippen to give a course of Anatomical Lectures to such as may attend. He is very well qualified for the subject, and will soon be followed by an able assistant, Dr. Morgan, both of whom, I apprehend, will not only be useful to the province in their employments, but, if suitably countenanced by the legislature will be able to erect a School of Physic amongst you that may draw students from various parts of America and the West Indies." The series of coloured carbon drawings and casts referred to was accordingly sent out. The drawings, eighteen in number, represent dissections of the human body and diagrams illustrative of mid-

wifery: they measure 24 by 32 inches: nearly all are drawn from nature by the accurate and exquisite pencil of Riemsdyck, on a sky-blue background. It is very likely that they were prepared by Fothergill's direction, although he mentions their coming into his hands in his usual modest manner. Shippen was glad to make use of the diagrams in his first courses of lectures, 1762 to 1765. The Fothergill Pictures and Casts are still preserved in good condition, framed in oak and displayed in the museum of the Pennsylvania Hospital.¹ A library was founded at the Hospital in 1763; the first medical book received was a new treatise on *Materia Medica* by Lewis, the gift of Fothergill.

Dr. John Morgan has been already mentioned. He returned to Pennsylvania in 1765 after a medical training in Europe such as no other American had received. He had spared neither time nor money. The pupil and friend of Cullen, he had studied also like Shippen under William and John Hunter, and under Hewson, and he had visited the best medical centres on the continent. At Padua he was treated by the venerable Morgagni as if his name had constituted him a son or a brother. His admirable injections of organs and other original work had won him admission already to the Royal Society. Primed with the best medical culture of the old world, Morgan conceived the aim of setting up worthy medical institutions on American soil. He felt that he was the man for the task.

Whilst he was at Paris he began to write his introductory Discourse, afterwards delivered in Philadelphia. It was prepared with the utmost care, couched in eloquent and persuasive words, and reinforced by quotations from the classics. The discourse took a firm grasp of the subject. He

¹ Dr. Howard H. Kelly of Baltimore has liberally presented the author with photographic reproductions of the drawings, one of which forms an illustration to this work. Some of them show the Gravid Uterus under different conditions, besides breech and arm presentations, and the foetal circulation. They were valued at £350, and placed in a room by themselves, where Shippen attended every other Saturday and explained them to visitors, admitted for the purpose at a dollar each. See also paper by Dr. J. A. Scott, *Univ. of Penna. Med. Bulletin*, Jan. 1904.



ONE OF THE SERIES OF ANATOMICAL DRAWINGS PRESENTED BY
DR. JOHN FOTHERGILL TO THE PENNSYLVANIA HOSPITAL, 1762

(The originals are more than half life-size.)

felt that he was speaking to America and building for the future. He laboured to convince his own city of the greatness of their opportunity. He showed the manner of a college that should teach medicine in its fulness, founded deep upon its kindred sciences: Edinburgh was his model. He had learned from the *Académie Royale de Chirurgie*, which had elected him as a member, its reasoned enthusiasm for study. He would have nothing narrow or meagre in this first medical college in the new world: it should be an example to the whole country, a continent "offering the richest mines of natural knowledge yet unrifed." "The great and well known Dr. Fothergill, the justly celebrated Dr. Hunter, and the learned Dr. Watson" had approved his purpose. The time was come to set up in the land the different orders of physicians, surgeons and apothecaries, each in his own department. Difficulties, as he told the students, they must regard as left by others for them to master. "I appeal," he says, "to the common-sense of mankind."

He bore with him on his arrival a letter from the Proprietary Thomas Penn, inspired, there is little doubt, by Fothergill, commending Morgan's proposal for establishing a medical school. The Proprietary of the province, however he had stood in the way of its liberties, gave a cordial and even affectionate support to its scientific advance. The young physician's well-laid plans prospered: the college was duly opened in 1765; Morgan was elected Professor of Physic—the first medical professorship in America—and Shippen to the chair of Anatomy and Surgery; Thomas Bond began clinical lectures in the year following.

Morgan was the first pure physician in America, compounding no medicines, nor practising surgery. A keen and independent observer, of literary and artistic tastes, his professional and clinical work were of a high order. But when the war broke out he left his post at the college to become medical director-general to the army. Here he resolutely applied his powers to bring order out of chaos, setting up entrance examinations for army doctors, enforcing discipline, and toiling in the face of short supplies and bad finance. He met the fate of many reformers. Driven from his post—a sensitive

man, distinguished and wealthy—he could not brook the grave slights that were put upon him by men of faction and intrigue; and he died, worn out before his time, a widower and childless, in 1789.¹

Fothergill's correspondence with Pemberton during many years bears witness to the constant care he took for the Hospital, obtaining funds for its service, and supplying them himself—he gave £250 in 1765—and seeking for trained men to fill its offices. He watched over its progress with an affectionate interest, writing of the control of the servants, and warning the managers against a disunion or a want of cordiality amongst the medical staff. In 1768 his own name was added to the list of managers.

In the following year Dr. Benjamin Rush arrived from Europe, whither he had gone, by the aid of Franklin, for medical training.

“I could not omit,” writes Fothergill to Pemberton, “furnishing Dr. Rush with this introduction to thee. He has behaved himself in such a manner here, and pursued his studies with so much diligence and success, as entitles him to this testimonial to his worth from me. If he is not spoiled by too early an introduction to public favour, I hope he will long continue to deserve it. Let him acquire reputation by his own conduct, rather than by the too hasty suffrage of his friends. He has applied himself to chemistry in particular, as well as to the practice of physic in general. He brings with him a very good apparatus, a present from the Proprietor, and I should be glad to hear that this young man at some proper time was preferred to the Chemical Chair, as I hope he would fill it with reputation to himself, and advantage to the colony.”

He writes in similar terms to W. Logan of Rush's prudence and high qualifications. A letter from Thomas Penn at the same time informed the trustees that Fothergill had recommended Rush as an expert chemist, and

¹ Morgan was accompanied from Britain by an apothecary, David Leighton, with a large stock of drugs prepared by Silvanus and Timothy Bevan, the precursors of Allen and Hanburys. A printed copy of Morgan's Discourse, inscribed in his hand to Dr. W. Hunter, is in the library of the Royal Society of Medicine.

had further advised the sending of a chemical apparatus ; the Proprietor had therefore obtained such an apparatus as Fothergill thought necessary, as a gift to the new institution.

A story is told of young Rush, that he was present, some years before the war, at a debating society in London, when some one derided the Americans as having guns but no cannon-balls to put into them. This brought Rush to his feet, declaring that if they had not balls, they would load their guns with the skulls of their ancestors, who had crossed the ocean to vindicate their independence. How Rush fulfilled in after years the high anticipations of Fothergill and his other friends is well known. Of studious and scholarly habits, independent mind and candid nature, a man of constant industry and research and of wide interests, Dr. Rush became one of the greatest of American physicians. His works on yellow fever, on climatic disorders, and on the treatment of the insane were important contributions to the progress of medicine ; Lettsom called him the Sydenham of America. It is stated, indeed, that the lancet and calomel were his stand-bys ; he called the latter "Samson," and his critics said in derision that it was "because it had slain its thousands." But his treatment of the successive epidemics of yellow fever in Philadelphia was eminently successful, and his labours during these times of crisis were nothing less than heroic. He helped, too, to lead his country into political freedom, and was one of the signatories to the Declaration of Independence. The influence of Quaker ancestry showed itself in his labours for the freeing of the negroes, for the abolition of the death penalty, for the Bible Society and for the restriction of the use of alcohol and tobacco. He wrote, too, against judicial oaths, and he condemned war ; he would have a government office established for preserving perpetual peace, which he set along with liberty as a fruit of republican principle. Although then without means, he declined all reward for his medical services as physician general to the army in the War of Liberation, and he distributed

among the poor the sum of \$5000 awarded to him as damages for calumnious attacks upon his character in "Peter Porcupine's Gazette." He once quoted Boerhaave's famous saying that he liked his poor patients the best because God was the paymaster.

Rush taught medicine to a long succession of pupils for forty-four years, and for thirty of these he was physician to the Pennsylvania Hospital; never missing, so it is told of him, a punctual visit on each succeeding day. Fothergill was one of his exemplars; no man, he said, ever discharged the duties of his profession with more fidelity and dignity than he; nor could he wish anything better for himself than to be the imitator of Fothergill. We have a glimpse of him in later years in some letters to Lettsom; a man of frank and wholesome temper, modest and kindly, looking back upon a life of many blessings and enjoyments, and keeping to the end his "capacity of studying with equal pleasure and profit." He died in 1813, at sixty-eight years of age. One of his sons, Richard Rush, was a well-known statesman, and Minister in 1818 to England; the Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1817, which settled the peace of the American-Canadian frontier, and is still in force, perpetuates his name.¹

To return to the college at Philadelphia. We have seen that this was by 1769 well organised under able and vigorous young men; for Morgan was thirty-four years of age, Shippen thirty-three, Adam Kuhn, who took *Materia Medica* and Botany, twenty-eight, and Rush but twenty-four; Bond alone was over fifty years. They had worked hard to obtain the best training in Europe, and they looked up to Edinburgh as their academical parent, as Edinburgh had looked up to Leyden in the great days of Boerhaave.² The first medical degrees were conferred in the year 1768. King's College, New York, followed hard on the steps of

¹ Dr. Rush's works were published in 7 vols.: they include excellent *Directions for preserving the Health of Soldiers*.

² "Vos Professores medici . . . qui magno nummi, temporis et laboris sumptu, longâ quoque peregrinatione per varias regiones, et populos, domum reduxistis peritiam, etc." (*Oration of Provost at Commencement*, June 21, 1768; Carson, *Hist. Med. Department Univ. Penna.* p. 69).

Philadelphia, conferring its medical degree for the first time in 1769; Dr. Samuel Bard, whose father was a Pennsylvanian and a pupil of Kearsley, had a large part in the founding of this college, resuscitated in 1792 as Columbia College.

Fothergill continued his kind offices to young Americans when they came to Britain for study. Amongst these was Dr. Thomas Parke, who afterwards married the daughter of James Pemberton, and held a leading position in Philadelphia.

It came into the power of Fothergill to do the Pennsylvania Hospital a considerable financial service, in connection with the Pennsylvania Land Company. This company was formed in the year 1699, and held certain lands in this and the adjoining provinces. In order to the sale of the estates they were in 1760 vested in nine trustees, who were chiefly Friends, Fothergill's name standing first.¹ Many shares in the company were at this time unclaimed, and it occurred to Fothergill to suggest to the Agents of the colony that the Hospital, doubtless as an institution of public usefulness, should become the ultimate recipient of this unclaimed property. The other trustees gave their consent, negotiations took place, the British ministry were favourable, and a clause was inserted in the Act of Parliament passed in 1760, providing that after the lapse of ten years to allow for claims to be made, the residue of the proceeds should be handed over to the Pennsylvania Hospital. The following extracts from Fothergill's letters to James Pemberton deal with this subject.

I have inclosed some papers that relate to unclaimed shares of the Land Company, in which your hospital is so happily interested. The money was vested in the Funds as

¹ An Appeal was heard before the Lords of the Privy Council for Plantation affairs in 1766; John Fothergill, M.D., and others, against a judgment of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, 1763, by which Christian Stover had been upheld in his rights to 340 acres of land in Lampeter, Lancaster Co., leased to him by the company for four years at the rent of £1: 4s. current. Stover set up a ticket issued by the Secretary of the Land Office, as superseding the Company's warrant. The judgment was affirmed. A printed copy of Appellant's case is in the author's hands; see also Brit. Mus. MSS. Add. 36200, 73.

early as possible. What claims may arise we cannot foresee, but I hope the interest will be more than sufficient to pay them. (Feb. 13, 1765.)

Proper care will be taken by the trustees that the hospital shall receive every advantage that our legislature kindly intended. (Sept. 30, 1766.)

After many repeated applications to the solicitor, I have this evening obtained the draft of a power of attorney to enable me, or any other person whom the managers of your hospital may think fit to appoint, to apply to Chancery, and receive the money due to your hospital. I could wish to have the name of David Barclay inserted instead of mine. He is more at leisure, and in the way of transacting such affairs. The solicitor objected that as I was a person pretty generally known fewer exceptions would be made; but I think this objection altogether groundless. (Feb. 12, 1771.)

A few days ago I executed a power of attorney to enable my brother agents, David Barclay and Dr. Franklin, to receive from the Bank of England the money due to your hospital. The sum will be between £6000 and £7000 sterling; and will probably be remitted to the managers this autumn. I know it will not be kept on this side the water an hour longer than can be helped. I think myself not a little fortunate for having suggested the thought to the agents for this affair; and I feel a sensible satisfaction in thinking that the distress of many may be alleviated, and at so little expense to myself. Permit me just to mention what has sometimes occurred to my thoughts respecting the disposition of the money. I would by no means be thought to dictate in the least. Would it not be proper to vest £6000 or £7000 in proper securities, land or otherwise, towards the constant support of the house? and employ the residue according to the present exigencies? I know not whether the hospital is furnished with iron bedsteads. They are said to answer well in ours', and are much more easily kept free from vermin. (Aug. 29, 1772.)

The report of the treasurer of the Pennsylvania Hospital in 1773 details the receipt of funds from this source amounting to £7390 sterling, or £11,990 in currency value. Some further sums were received in later years, reaching a total of £7611 sterling. The money appears to have been applied according to Fothergill's suggestion as an endowment, and probably greatly aided to maintain

the hospital in the troublous years of the war, during part of which it was in use for the British wounded.¹

Fothergill had a relation, Benjamin Waterhouse, the son of his first cousin Hannah Proud, who had married Timothy Waterhouse of Newport, Rhode Island. The young man, who was born in 1754, came to England in 1775, entering Fothergill's family, and studying medicine with his frequent counsel and help in London and in Edinburgh. The war with America raging at this time, Waterhouse went to Leyden in 1778, took his degree at that famous school, and remained a third year to study special subjects. His uncle, as he called Dr. Fothergill, wrote shortly before his death to thank Franklin for his great kindness to his "little friend and relation"; and added, "should the State of Massachusetts ever establish a school of medicine—and such there should be—he would fill a chair in it very properly."

In 1782 Waterhouse returned to America, where his long training and force of character assured him a distinguished career. Two outstanding events marked its course. One was the foundation of the Harvard Medical School in 1783, at which he delivered the inaugural address, becoming himself, as Fothergill had forecast, its first Professor of Medicine. The second was the introduction of vaccination into America in 1800, when Waterhouse first submitted his own children to the operation, and afterwards inoculated them with the smallpox virus without result, thus proving its efficacy as a preventive. "One fact," he said, "is worth a thousand arguments." Jenner, he added, "is one of Nature's own pupils: some men are destined to follow the rules of colleges, but with others rules follow them." Waterhouse was a keen controversialist, alert, combative, emphatic, magisterial; and although his ultimate success in bringing in the new

¹ Dr. G. B. Wood in his *Centennial Address* (1851), followed by Cornell (*Hist. Pennsylvania*, p. 412), speaks of Thomas Hyam as the chief instrument in this matter, but it is clear that the initiative, as well as the careful execution of the gift during a course of years, belonged mainly to Fothergill. The Trustees of the Land Company were in 1760, John Fothergill, Daniel Zachary, Thomas How, Devereux Bowley, Luke Hind, Richard How, Jacob Hagen, Silvanus Grove and William Heron.

practice of vaccination was complete, he suffered sorely from opposition and intrigue, losing his official appointments, and falling into difficulties in the latter part of his long life. For he lived on to the year 1845, being perhaps the last survivor of those who had an intimate knowledge of Fothergill. Waterhouse maintained the style of an old English physician, dressing his slight and short figure scrupulously in fine black broadcloth, with powdered queue, and carrying a gold-headed cane. So Oliver Wendell Holmes remembered him, when submitted to him for vaccination in his childhood.¹

¹ Dr. J. Chichester of Charleston, S. Carolina, seems to have received the vaccine lymph from Dr. G. Pearson at an earlier date than Waterhouse, but it was to the enterprise of the latter that its use in the United States was due. See Pettigrew, *Med. Port. Gallery*, iv. s.n. Pettigrew, p. 12. Waterhouse called consumption "a slack-twistedness of the glandular system": it was scrofula "arrived to years of maturity." See also *Mem. S. Fothergill*, p. 194; Harvard Medical School *Centenary Volume*, 1884; Lettsom, *Hints*, iii. 66, with good engraved portrait of Waterhouse; and *Memoirs*, i. pp. xx ff., 186, 210, 213.

The chief sources for this chapter are Carson's *History of the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania*, and T. G. Morton's *History of the Pennsylvania Hospital*; G. B. Woods' history of the University, and his *Centennial Address*; Fothergill's letters, in the Etting MSS., in the Coll. Phys. Phila., and in Frds. Ref. Lib.; Franklin's letters, in his *Works*, and in the *Franklin Centen. Calendar* of the Amer. Phil. Soc.; and letters from Daniel D. Test, the present Superintendent of the Hospital, whose courtesy the author is glad to acknowledge. See also *Med. Obs. & Inq.* iv. 367, v. 32, 96; Lettsom, *Memoirs*; and his *Recollections of Dr. Rush*, 1815; Darlington, *op. cit.*; Munk, *op. cit.*; Appleton, *Cyclop. Amer. Biog.*; Lambert, *Pennsylvania at Jamestown Exposition*, 1907; Dr. H. H. Kelly, *Cyclop. Amer. Med. Biog.* An interesting letter from Rush to Prof. Kidd, 1793, was sold at Sotheby's, Dec. 5, 1916. A valuable work by Dr. Harry G. Good of Bluffton College, Berne, Ind., *Benjamin Rush as an Educator*, was published too late for use here. Dr. W. Hunter of Newport, R.I., a relative of Wm. and John Hunter, lectured on anatomy on his coming to America about 1754.

CHAPTER XXX

FOTHERGILL'S CLOSING YEARS

Aimer et se faire aimer à travers tant de douleurs n'est-ce pas le dernier mot de l'art de vivre ?—ÉDOUARD ROD.

It may not be our lot to wield
The sickle in the ripened field ;
Nor ours to hear on summer eves
The reaper's song among the sheaves.

Yet where our Duty's task is wrought
In unison with God's great thought,
The near and future blend in one,
And whatsoe'er is willed, is done.

WHITTIER.

Let us learn to live in hope. Those who are now at rest were once like ourselves. They have overcome, each one, and one by one ; each in his turn, when the day came, and God called him to the trial. And so shall you likewise.—CARDINAL MANNING.

A FEW pages will now be devoted to the closing years of Fothergill's life. Most of his labours were continued to the end of his course. He could not get free from them if he would. For he was in the full tide of professional work, every year adding to his reputation, and his opinion and advice often called for in official matters. The philanthropic causes in which he had worked so long grew in their demands upon him, and the pursuit of knowledge in many fields had become a habit, not to be laid down. But the bodily powers grew less as years advanced. As with his brother Samuel, the physical setting of the active mind was too slender to reach into prolonged age. It was not the lot of a Fothergill to attain the *otium cum dignitate*—those closing years of peace and recollection which fitly crown the lives of some men, and to which he had sometimes looked forward

with hope. His constitution had never been robust, and although temperate and regular habits carried him far, the strain of his daily toil began to tell. It was noticed that his step was less light, his manner less alert. The loss of his favourite brother in 1772 was a sore trial and took away much of his comfort in life. "I feel," he wrote to his niece, "a vast void in my enjoyments." The troubles of the times, the long war with America which he had laboured to avert, and all that the war brought with it, and the cares which he bore for others, weighed upon his spirits.

The retreat during each autumn to Lea Hall gave him two months of comparative peace. But in writing and in other ways his time was so filled that true leisure of mind seldom came. He returned home still weary yet thankful in spirit. Looking forward, he saw that he could not bear the burden much longer, and he cast about for the means of a fuller retirement. His garden at Upton, now one of the scientific institutions of the country, and still growing from year to year, was become a care to him. He could but seldom visit it, and he would fain have passed it over to other hands. The liberal use of his money for many good ends, and the claims of relations and friends upon him, by which he was not a little burdened in later years, hindered him from making sufficient provision for the future. "Nobody thinks it ever worth his while," he wrote plaintively, "to pay me either principal or interest of the money I have lent." Hence retirement was difficult; his work too, although no longer a pure pleasure, had grown to be second nature with him; and so, despite his desire for a little more ease, he continued to labour at the oar.

In the year 1777 Fothergill completed his sixty-fifth year. Since the war had broken out his communications with America had been few, but he still watched closely the course of events, as we have seen, and used his voice and pen where there seemed to be a chance of promoting a reasonable peace. In this year his efforts in the cause of education in his own society led to the first steps in

the foundation of Ackworth School. Towards the end of 1778 illness came upon him, and confined him for two or three weeks to his bed.¹ Faced by the uncertainty of recovery he was calm and peaceful, saying that "if he had left anything undone which he wished to have done, it was the perfecting of the plan of Ackworth School; and likewise the complete arrangement of the rules of our religious society." Both these tasks he lived to accomplish in the two years of arduous life that were yet before him. During his short retirement about 600 callers enquired at his house, and his recovery gave to the public and to his friends the liveliest satisfaction. He made some efforts to lessen his work after this illness, but with little success.

In 1779, besides his work on the codification of the Discipline, Fothergill acted for the third time as clerk to London Yearly Meeting of Friends; an assembly not then so large as it is to-day, nor with so wide an outlook on spiritual needs. In July, in company with his sister, he paid his first visit to Ackworth, attending the General Meeting, at which the arrangements were made for the opening of the school. Afterwards the brother and sister went to Knaresborough, that they might see once more their father's grave, in the old burial plot at Scotton upon the hill. As they rode away through the green woodland their hearts were full, writes the doctor, "of reverent thankfulness that such was our father." This year also saw Fothergill busy in prison reform, and chosen by parliament as a commissioner to carry out the new act.

The last year of his life, 1780, found his energies still fully employed, if his strength was less. He attended the Yearly Meeting in London for the last time. There was a satisfactory report from Ackworth School. At one sitting Fothergill brought up a concession he had obtained from the Archbishop of Canterbury that Friends should not be required to use the ecclesiastical titles in their applications to the Court of Probate; but the

¹ The trouble was vesical, requiring systematic catheterism.

inferior officials proved to be more exacting in this than their superiors. It was a good Yearly Meeting. Towards the close something was said, in which Fothergill joined, of the prevalence of love and condescension among Friends.¹

An outbreak of gaol-fever (doubtless typhus) was decimating at this time the Spanish prisoners of war confined at Winchester. The matter came before the House of Commons; Dr. Fothergill was consulted, and by his recommendation Dr. James Carmichael Smyth, afterwards well known as a physician and writer, was made choice of to take the medical superintendence of the prison. He set up a system of disinfection by means of the vapour of mineral acids—a mixture of vitriol and nitre was heated in a sandbath—and within a fortnight of his arrival the weekly number of deaths dropped to one-third, and soon after almost ceased.²

One more visit to Lea Hall was paid this year, Fothergill and his sister journeying to Ackworth on their way thither, and again visiting the school before they turned southward to London. As noted in an earlier chapter, the success which had crowned his ardent labours made this last visit to Ackworth one of much comfort to Fothergill. "We parted with its inhabitants," writes his sister, "in much love, and to see its prosperity and feel the sweet reward of peace cheered our journey"; and so the coach bore them homeward, five days' travel to London. The burden of life was soon to fall from Fothergill's shoulders; he had long borne its cares for others in no light measure; it is good to think that what he had

¹ MS. *Journal of Richard Lindley of Darlington*, Frds. Ref. Lib.

² Foth. *Works*, iii. p. cxliii. Dr. J. Carmichael Smyth, *A Description of the Jail Distemper, etc.*, 1795, and *The Effect of Nitrous Vapour in destroying Contagion, etc.*, 1799. Parliament voted him £5000 for his services; but a prior use of the disinfectant was claimed for another friend of Fothergill's, James Johnstone, M.D.Edin., of Worcester. Lettsom, *Memoirs*, iii. 251, 254, 258; W. Seward, *Biographiana*, p. 578; Munk, *Roll R.C.P.* ii. 384. Smyth, who lived in Charlotte Street, Bloomsbury, is sometimes quoted as having used large quantities of alcohol for his typhus patients, but in fact he lays little stress on stimulants, ordering small quantities, or none, as a rule; it was in "the last stage," when death threatened from asthenia, that he sometimes gave as much as two bottles of madeira or port in 24 hours, or in a less period.

been able to do for the education of his people was the consolation of his closing days. On the way home Fothergill had leisure of thought to observe the condition of the New River, and he wrote on his return the letter to the Directors, already noticed, in which he urged them to set up public baths. He began his usual winter labours in London, and was soon closely engaged. He found time, however, on October 25 to write his long letter to Franklin at Paris, in which Fothergill laid before the American statesman the grand ideal of setting up, on the occasion of the founding of the United States, an International Court for the settlement of disputes.

He attended a meeting of the Medical Society (of Physicians) on the 11th of December, and on the following day, which he had spent in arduous medical work, Fothergill was again seized with illness—illness which this time the art of Percivall Pott could not relieve. Drs. Watson, Warren, and Reynolds also attended him, and they had to reckon, too, with the emphatic medical opinions of the patient himself. The weary frame endured for a fortnight the extreme pains and distresses of his disorder, until the end came as a welcome relief to those who watched his sufferings. David Barclay saw him daily, and wrote bulletins to his friends in the north. His mind was serene, and even cheerful, hoping, as he said, “that he had not lived in vain, but in degree to answer the end of his creation, by sacrificing interested considerations and his own ease to the good of his fellow-creatures.” “Sister,” he said to his faithful companion, “be content, do not hold me. I have been low. I have been doubtful whether it would be well with me or not, but now I am satisfied beyond a doubt—beyond a doubt, that I shall be everlastingly happy. My troubles are ended, therefore be content, and mayst thou be blessed in time and in eternity.”¹

¹ The disease proved to arise from a hard “fungus” growth, about the size of a walnut, situated on the vesical floor, associated with a large hard prostate, and causing retention, save for a discharge *guttatim*. The catheter entered the growth by a groove, but could not pierce it. Great distension ensued, and doubtless at length uræmia. Puncture *per rectum* was canvassed,

Fothergill died on the 26th of December 1780 at the age of sixty-eight years. Desirous of avoiding large crowds at the interment, the executors arranged that it should take place at Winchmore Hill, eight miles north of London, where there is a burial-ground of the Friends, long known as a sequestered and beautiful spot. There then they took the remains, and more than seventy coaches and chaises filled with friends followed him to the place. Some came from over 100 miles distance, travelling of course by road. They gathered in silence after the simple Quaker manner, and a sense of great loss was spread over the company. George Dillwyn quoted the words, "For the mountains shall depart, and the hills be removed; but my kindness shall not depart from thee," etc.¹

His faithful sister, Ann Fothergill, retired to a house, No. 68 Great Russell Street, where she lived on for over twenty years—a wise, kindly and hospitable old lady whilst strength and intelligence remained, and a woman of unflinching truth and candour. And now upon two small headstones, side by side, in the shaded grassy acre, may be read the plain inscriptions:

JOHN FOTHERGILL, M.D.,	ANN FOTHERGILL,
DIED 12 mo. 26. 1780, aged 68.	DIED 7 mo. 8. 1802, aged 84.

Not far away are the like simple records of David Barclay, son of the Apologist, and of David Barclay his son, the friend of Fothergill.

Fothergill left no large fortune. J. H. Tuke estimates that it did not much exceed £25,000. Under his will, after his surviving brother's mortgages were paid off, his

but rejected, an operation which was then most often fatal. An account of the case was given by Lettsom to his Medical Society in May 1784. The specimen is described and figured in Fothergill's *Works*, iii. 303. The growth was evidently carcinomatous. Fothergill's sufferings lasted fourteen days: the relief afforded by modern science might perhaps have lengthened his life by as many months, still of suffering more or less, but it could not have averted the end.

¹ Isa. liv. 10. Isaac Sharples and Sarah Prior also spoke, the former quoting 2 Sam. iii. 38. See entry in Ann Fothergill's bible in the possession of John D. Crosfield; *Gent. Mag.*, 1781, April; J. Jenkins, *op. cit.* p. 187.

property was divided mainly between his numerous nephews and nieces, who were to receive about £1000 each, or in some cases a small annuity, after the death of his sister, to whom the life interest and the residue were bequeathed. There were many legacies and annuities to his servants past and present, and to Ackworth School.¹

The sale of Fothergill's library occupied eight days after the leisurely manner of those times. It was well stocked, especially with *variorum* classics, books of travel and accounts of foreign countries, Persian manuscripts, portraits, maps, views, drawings of flowers, shells, eggs and insects, and works on botany, zoology and conchology. Some of the large volumes of coloured illustrations of flora fetched considerable sums.²

¹ Copy of Will in Fds. Ref. Lib.; Tuke, *Sketch*, p. 75; *Gent. Mag.* 1802, ii. 692. Fothergill's French eulogist, Vicq d'Azyr (followed by Chaumeton), avers with pardonable imagination that the epitaph was placed over his tomb: "Ci git le docteur Fothergill, qui dépensa deux cents mille guinées pour le soulagement des malheureux."

² A copy of the printed *Catalogue*, 52 pp., is in Fds. Ref. Lib., Leigh and Sotheby, Auctioneers; many of the items are priced.

CHAPTER XXXI

CHARACTER OF FOTHERGILL

The great business of man as a member of society is to be as useful to it as possible in whatsoever department he may be stationed.—
Dr. J. FOTHERGILL.

Gratia studet sub Deo semper vivere, stare et esse : atque propter Deum omni humanæ creaturæ humiliter parata est inclinari.—THOMAS A KEMPIS.

Temperance, in the nobler sense, does not mean a subdued or imperfect energy : it does not mean a stopping short in any good thing ; but it means the power which governs the most intense energy, and prevents its acting in any way but as it ought.—RUSKIN.

The servant of a tender conscience, who has learned to love all beauty, to hate all vileness, to respect others as himself.—HUXLEY.

THE present work has been written to little purpose if the character of Fothergill has not already been made manifest. But something may here be added on the personal side, with an attempt to gather up leading traits, so as to present a picture of him as he was.

In person Fothergill was of medium height and of a slender and delicate build. The expression of his countenance was alert, and every line seemed to indicate character. His forehead was large ; his eyes light coloured, penetrating and with a peculiar brilliancy ; his nose rather aquiline ; his mouth betokened delicacy and refinement of feeling, and the whole countenance a sensitiveness bordering on irritability.

His habit was very active ; he leaned forward a little when walking in the streets. There was some stiffness in his address, and he had not the frank social manner of his friend Lettsom, the possession of which would have saved him from some misunderstandings. Yet the stiff



John Fothergill.

address "was so perfectly accompanied by the most engaging attentions, that he was the genuine polite man above all forms of breeding." His Quaker dress was extremely neat and simple, a perfect transcript of the order of his mind ; he never altered it under the changes of fashion. "He usually wore," his nephew tells us, "a large low three-cornered hat ; a white medical wig, with rows of small curls descending one under another from near the crown to his shoulders ; a coat, waistcoat and breeches of nearly white superfine cloth ; the coat without any collar, large cuffs, and two of the buttons buttoned over his breast ; the waistcoat with long flaps ; the ends of his cravat were buttoned within his waistcoat ; the stockings he wore were silk and the colour of his clothes ; his buckles were small. His coach was dark green, with wheels of the same colour ; the horses were tall black ones, with very short docked tails after the old manner. His coachman was exceedingly lusty ; he weighed at least sixteen stone ; his livery was a plain cocked hat, a white wig, a light drab coat, with a velvet collar the same colour and bright haycock buttons. My uncle left him £50 per annum."¹ At his meals Fothergill was temperate ; some thought him too abstemious ; "eating sparingly, but with a good relish, and rarely exceeding two glasses of wine at supper."

Fothergill had a strong intelligence. His mental faculties were of the judicial type, and they worked rapidly, so that he reached conclusions with swiftness and held them with tenacity. He had a just sense of his intellectual powers, and was solicitous to improve them to the utmost, suffering none of them to be wasted in indolence.² His emotions were lively. The passion of love, which burns too often with a fitful or feeble flame, or mixed with selfishness, shone in his case with a steady light upon all his fellows. It gave him understanding and insight ; for a loving heart, as Carlyle said, is the

¹ Extract from *MS. Records of John Fothergill, of York (1793)*, quoted by J. H. Tuke, *Sketch*, p. 68.

² G. Thompson, *Memoirs*, p. 29.

beginning of all knowledge. His temper was warm but usually controlled, and softened by charity; when it had been manifest he quickly recovered his placidity and sought to serve any whose feelings he had hurt. There was in him something of that "generous open-hearted sincerity, for which," he once wrote, "the English are noted." But the dominant feature in his character was derived from his conscience, which was sensitive as a mirror to right and wrong, and, his will being schooled in obedience to its dictates, he was inflexibly upright in great things and little. If the part of principle is to give the mind rule over the instincts of the body, and to set it free to fulfil the behests of the spirit, Fothergill was a man of principle. He had no lack of moral courage, and was, we are told, the same man in all company; not ashamed of his faith; "which made all sorts of people love and value him."

To these essential traits of character may be added others, upon which indeed much of the success and comfort of life depend. The fairy godmother had bestowed on Fothergill not alone the gifts but the power to use them. He had good store of common sense, of tact, and of insight into the character of others; and these gave him no little influence with men. He had industry and perseverance; and he was orderly and methodical. Then, too, he had the crowning gift of initiative. Where others only followed, he led. Like the children of Issachar he knew "what Israel ought to do." To see a need was to strive to supply it. To behold a truth was to aim for its attainment. His was no mournful

video meliora proboque,
Deteriora sequor.

These qualities contributed to give him a certain steadfastness of life and aim.

Fothergill's outlook upon the world was wide, and his ideals were far-reaching. These ideals, too, were, as it has been said of James Hinton, not mere will-o'-the-wisps, mental *muscæ volitantes*: they were living potentialities.

"No dweller in a baseless world of dreams," Fothergill put his ideals into action, and thus he found his *métier*, his part in the world, what he was fitted to do ; and he did it simply, courageously and to the full. His primary business was the relief of human suffering, and this aim was lofty, since it took in the spiritual as well as the material, and it was broad, since it included all means of relief which could come within the scope of his benevolence. No love of lucre hindered its fulfilment. The use of money is a hard test, but a very true one, to a Christian man. Fothergill was rich, but he was master of his money : it never mastered him. He had no greed, and he laid up little treasure upon earth. He spent his money freely, and spent it well, and he made for himself friends by its means in the everlasting tabernacles.

Hardly second to the aim of relieving suffering was his zeal for knowledge as a sovereign remedy for human error. The cultivation of physical science, of the natural history of man, and of social and political progress, all engaged his energy and his initiative ; and what he knew he sought to spread. If his character was little developed from an æsthetic aspect, he at least loved the beauty of natural objects, his imagination dignified the tasks of life, and a quiet humour of his own, unlike the coarse wit of the period, softened the severity of his thought. The extent and variety of his interests helped by their balance to keep him free from one-sidedness, from the rôle of the one idea, and from overstrain of the faculties in his busy work. Thus he touched the course of human activities at many points, entering into the living current, and giving of his own energy to its advance. In return there came back to him the reflex influence of every thought and act bestowed ; he "warmed both hands before the fire of life."

The period in which he lived was clouded with much strife and trouble. During the greater part of his active life his country was at war, either in Europe, or in India or America, or in all these lands at once. Trade was often hindered, taxes were high, food was dear, and, save

for the classes that profit by war, the people were not prosperous. Moral corruption if less obvious than in earlier decades was still great. It was no wonder that some of the finer minds took a pessimistic view of the world, either in its political conditions or in its moral and religious progress. To quote two friends of Fothergill: "I have taken my leave of politics," wrote Dr. William Hunter in 1778, "and am sorry to say that as far as I am a judge this country deserves humiliation, or rather a scourge."¹ Esther Tuke of York wrote in the same year of the evil to come, and of her trust that "the little preserved remnant may be exercised in stemming the torrent, and preventing further desolation."² Fothergill himself was more hopeful. It was his business as a physician to inspire men with hope: it was part of the secret of his success that he was able to do so. As physician too to the body politic, his mind was ever firmly bent upon the cure of the maladies of the city, of the state and of mankind at large. Although he lived and worked under the cloud of war, he was not himself without light. His was the faith of those who believe that God has a kingdom of righteousness and love to establish among all nations, that the co-operation of men is needed in setting it up, and that in the end the purpose shall be accomplished.

The times were strenuous. War is a scourge, and under its touch, rude and evil though it be, much of the pretence, the convention and the varnish of life must needs disappear. Men had to face stern reality. And yet as years passed they became indifferent, the pursuit of folly revived, and a sort of lethargy prevailed, which even affected the Quaker church. It was in such a world that Fothergill moved and laboured. He bore many

¹ MS. Letter in possession of Miss Hunter-Baillie.

² MS. Letter to Ann Fothergill, 23.xii.1778, Frds. Ref. Lib. Esther Tuke, *née* Maud, was the wife of William Tuke, a well-known Friend, the founder of the Retreat at York, and a pioneer in the humane treatment of the insane. She visited the "Men's Meeting" about 1784, to solicit the setting up of a Yearly Meeting for women. It is told that the words, "What is thy petition, Queen Esther, and it shall be granted thee?" rose to the mind of a Friend present as her stately form passed up the meeting.

burdens besides his own, he looked out for the weak and the oppressed, and he worked for the better time which did not come until long afterward ; helping, though he knew it not, to prepare the way, to cast up a road, for the redeemed to walk in.

Many are the influences that go to build a man's character. It would be interesting, if it were possible, to analyse the chief factors in forming that of Fothergill. Much he owed to inheritance, and he knew it : for he would stir up the younger scions of his stock to remember the " frank disinterested noble spirit of the Fothergills : excuse," he adds, " my vanity." To an outsider other family traits are clearly visible—a strong will and a liability to impulse ; features which, uncontrolled by Fothergill's dominant conscience and spirit of love, might easily lead to obstinacy and ill-temper. He came of free-born Yorkshire yeomen, who had embraced the Quaker faith in the unseen guiding Spirit, and held that faith with tenacity. This religion of his youth, severe and exacting, because only thus might its votaries be kept unspotted from the world, survived his schooldays, and was probably reinforced during his apprenticeship. In Edinburgh he met with a broad and a humanising influence, the personal character of Monro *primus* giving its tone to the medical school. There are signs that his strict Quaker upbringing, still fostered by his father, was put to the test, but if it was shaken it recovered its sway. The result of all was that Fothergill achieved, in his own person, the unique combination of the scrupulous Friend with the man of wide interests and liberal thought in other spheres. He attained this character early in his career and held it to the end. The friendships which he made at college and afterwards had their part in leading his thoughts into other lands and new phases of life. Through his religious society he had much to do with the American colonies, and they stimulated his political ideals. He saw arising beyond the Atlantic a great free nation ; its struggles stirred in him the passion of liberty. Here Franklin influenced him, probably also

Dr. Richard Price and other Whig thinkers. In the circle of his scientific friends, the delightful society of Collinson fostered his love of ordered nature.

It is well known that the more important part of a doctor's training is that which he receives in the course of his practice. Fothergill's large business brought him into relation with human nature in various forms, and generally on its sadder side. He touched the human factor in the world ; he knew its strength and its weakness, its selfishness and its sacrifice, and the pathos and the tragedy which are often revealed to medical eyes alone. This gave him a mingled tenderness and dignity in his dealing with his patients ; and he was, it is also noted, delicate and scrupulous in his behaviour to persons in inferior stations. He disdained to be the slave of caprice, yet the love that was in him so governed his attitude that his knowledge of his fellows never led to his losing confidence in human nature or becoming hardened to its suffering. Rather it opened his sympathies the wider, and made the good of all men his aim and goal. "I am," he once wrote, "the brother of all mankind."

It has been well said that no life ends, even for this world, when the body which was for a time its home has passed out of sight ; for it enters into the stream of the life of mankind, and there it continues to act with its whole force.¹ Nor is it true—Mark Antony said it in irony—that only "the evil that men do lives after them." Fothergill's contribution to his own century was not a small one. If he was no leader in medicine like Boerhaave or John Hunter, he was yet eminent among those who give their lives in daily labour to improve medical art, and who build up from one generation to another the edifice of its knowledge. An early clinical physician of the best type, he took an important share in bringing the scientific spirit into English practice, and in founding medical principles upon observation and natural laws. He exerted a wide if less conspicuous influence upon the science of his time. He introduced many new plants and

¹ Prof. J. Stalker, *Life of Jesus Christ*.

trees into Britain (including some useful in medicine), and his collections stimulated natural research. Although he made no discoveries himself, he discovered those who made them, and he helped to publish them to the world, and by his aid constantly given to scientific workers he furthered the progress of knowledge in many departments.

His shining example of philanthropy had an effect upon the generation that followed him which it would be hard to measure. The voice he raised for liberty and righteousness in human affairs may have had but a small hearing in the democratic movement in his own country, then in its infancy. But in American history his patient labours during a critical epoch entitle him to a place of honour among those who helped the builders of the new commonwealth. Much he longed that it might be founded sure and deep upon righteousness, and he did what he could, and that was something, to further this end. The present work has sought to show what Franklin owed to the comradeship of Fothergill.

This part of our subject would be incomplete if it was not added that the strength of Fothergill and his success in all his work were the outcome of a habit of mind which referred all things to a higher Power. For indeed beyond the lines of influence which have been spoken of, there is the force of character itself, something that belongs to the ego, that eludes analysis it may be, yet is most potent, made in the likeness of the Divine. The man is greater than his work. The true life is a poem : there is rhythm in its duty, and euphony in its love, and in its joy the very play of assonance.

There have been not a few in the history of the medical profession, who have lived in its highest places lives of noble simplicity, unspoiled by courts, whom neither wealth nor fame have turned out of their calm course, moving, as it has been said, "like the lights of heaven, undisturbed by the admiration of which they are the object." These were men who looked beyond the phenomena of things, and suffered their souls to be guided in all their ways by love and truth. They were *ἀμεμπτοι καὶ*

ἀκέραιοι, blameless and harmless, and they became the very salt of our profession. Of these was Harvey, prince of physiologists and vassal of the truth. Of such was Boerhaave, moving among rich and poor, the lover of them all, and passing to his rest amid the tears of a nation. Such was Heberden, that grave figure, with the mind of a philosopher and the heart of a child. Such was Denman; such was Matthew Baillie, guileless and simple, full of help to those who were far otherwise. If the pen halts here, it is not because the heroic temper is lost in our own time. To this Valhalla of the art of medicine belongs John Fothergill. Yet how earnestly he would have disclaimed it! and it was in part because of his humble view of himself that he became what he was, and earned the just title of the Friend of Man.¹

¹ The following lines are found copied by Fothergill in his youth :

“ O Thou, the God who high in heaven presides,
Whose eye o’ersees me, and whose wisdom guides,
Deal me that portion of content and rest,
That unknown health and peace which suits me best :
Save me from all the guilt, and all the pain,
That lust of pleasure brings, and lust of gain ;
In trial fix me, and in peril shade ;
’Gainst foes protect me, ’gainst my passions aid ;
In wealth my guardian, and in want my guide,
’Twixt a mean flattery and drunken pride ;
With life’s more dear sensations warm my heart,
Transport to feel, benevolence to impart ;
Each home-felt joy, each public duty send,—
Make me, and give me all things in, a Friend ! ”

Essay on Reason, p. 27.

APPENDIX A

TEXT OF THE DOCUMENTS OF THE CONCILIATION PROPOSALS, 1774-1777

See Chapters xxvi.-xxviii.

[The originals of these documents, excepting No. I., are among the David Barclay MSS. in the possession of John Henry Gurney, Keswick Hall, Norwich, inherited by him through Hudson Gurney. Some of them are printed in Lettsom's *Works of Fothergill*, iii. pp. clviii-clxvi, and in Smyth's *Franklin*, vi. The author is indebted to Mr. J. H. Gurney for his generous permission to search for the MSS. and to make use of them. They have been transcribed *literatim* and placed in a probable order of date.]

I. HINTS FOR CONVERSATION, UPON THE SUBJECT OF TERMS THAT MAY PROBABLY PRODUCE A DURABLE UNION BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND HER COLONIES

[Dec. 4th, 1774.]

- 1st. The tea destroyed, to be paid for.
- 2d. The tea duty act to be repealed, *and all the duties that have been received upon it to be repaid into the treasuries of the several provinces from which it has been collected.*
- 3d. The acts of navigation to be all re-enacted in the several Colonies.
- 4th. A naval officer, appointed by the crown, to reside in each colony, to see that these acts are observed.
- 5th. All the acts restraining manufactures in the Colonies, to be reconsidered.
- 6th. All duties arising on the acts for regulating trade with the Colonies, to be for the public use of the respective Colonies, and paid into their treasuries.
- 7th. The collectors and custom-house officers to be appointed by each governor, and not sent from England; the present officers to be continued only during each governor's pleasure.

- 8th. In consideration of the Americans maintaining their own peace establishment, and of the monopoly Britain is to have of their commerce, no requisition to be made from them in time of peace.
- 9th. In time of war, on requisition made by the king, with consent of parliament, every colony shall raise money by some such rule or proportion as the following : viz. If Britain, on account of the war, pays as high as 3s. in the pound to its land-tax, then the Colonies to add to their last general provincial tax a sum equal to (suppose $\frac{1}{4}$) thereof ; and if Britain, on the same account, pays 4s. in the pound, then the Colonies to add to their said tax a sum equal to (suppose $\frac{1}{2}$) thereof ; which additional tax is to be granted to the king, and to be employed in raising and paying men for land or sea service, furnishing provisions, transports, or for such other purposes as the king shall require and direct : and though no colony may contribute less, each may add as much by voluntary grant as they shall think proper.
- 10th. No troops to enter, and quarter in any colony, but with the consent of its legislature.
- 11th. Castle William to be restored to the province of the Massachusetts Bay.
- 12th. The late Massachusetts and Quebec acts to be repealed, and a free government granted to Canada.
- 13th. The extension of the act of Henry VIII. concerning treason, to the colonies, to be formally disclaimed by parliament.
- 14th. The American Admiralty courts reduced to the same powers they have in England, and the acts relative to them to be re-enacted in America.
- 15th. All Judges in the king's colony governments to be appointed during good behaviour, the Colonies fixing ample and equally durable salaries : or, if it is thought best that the king should still continue to appoint during pleasure, then the colony assemblies to grant salaries during their pleasure, as has always heretofore been the practice.
- 16th. The Governors also to be supported by voluntary grants of the assemblies, as heretofore.
- 17th. All powers of internal legislation in the Colonies, to be disclaimed by parliament.

[This paper is missing from the Barclay series, nor is it included in Hudson Gurney's numeration. It is here taken from Lettsom.

Franklin's version differs in a few points. He adds to Art. 11, "and no Fortress built by the Crown in any Province, but with consent of its Legislature." The wording of Art. 15 is different but to the same effect as Barclay's. He adds an additional article. "If Britain will give up its Monopoly of the American Commerce, then the Aid above mentioned to be given by America in time of Peace as well as in time of War."]

II. [LORD HYDE TO D. BARCLAY]

THE GROVE,
13th Dec. 1774.

I am this inst^d fav^d with my valuable friend's letter of the 12th: inst., containing hints, on w^h He himself seems to have passed an opinion that they are rather high; They consequently should be moderated. Dr. Fothergill has certainly imparted them to the proper officer: I most heartily wish that they may be productive of what may be practicable & advantageous for the Mother country & the colonies.

This same post brings me the inclosed from the D. of Chandos. I am sorry it is so little satisfactory: I urged your desire with a warmth that becomes the real esteem & sincere friendship with w^h I am, my good friend, most truly yours,

HYDE.

[Addressed, Mr. David Barclay.]

[The Duke of Chandos was attached to the Court, but did not at this date hold any office. The allusion may be to some different matter.]

III. REMARKS ON HINTS

[Probably Feb. 4th, 1775.]

1st: Granted.

2d: Granted.

3d: This will never be granted: therefore the Colonies must enter into Compact, that the Acts of Navigation, wch have been already passed in G^t Bⁿ & such other Acts as may hereafter pass for regulating Trade only, shall be binding on them & their heirs etc. and if the 6th. Article is obtained I see no objection to No. 3 being yielded.

4th. Already so.

5th: Some little Relaxation may perhaps be obtained, such as exporting, or perhaps only removing Hatts from one Colony to the other & that probably not to be obtained as it will be consider'd that it must affect British Manufactures—q^d if ought to [be] insisted on?

- 6th. If granted, will remove many difficulties abt regulations of Trade, interfering with Ideas of Taxation.
- 7th. Will not be easily obtained, as curtailing the power of the Crown & reducing the Minister's Levy & consequently his Influence in Parliament.
- 8th. Q^r as y^e Dignity of Gt. Bn. must be preserved ; Whether if No: 2. 11. 12. 13. 14 could be obtained, it may not be prudent for the Colonies to consent to raise annually on requisition made by the King by consent of Parliament, a certain proportion (however small) of their last Provincial Tax equal to (suppose . . . thereof) when Britain pays 3/ in the pound to its land Tax ? This Concession will so much please the greatest part of the Nation, as to enduce them to yield more substantial Benefits, in particular No. 6.
- 9th. Granted.
- 10th. Granted.¹
- 11th. Granted.²
- 12th. Granted.
- 13th. Granted.
- 14th. Acts relative to Admiralty Courts to be re-enacted in America Will never be granted & indeed unnecessary if a Compact shd. be enter'd into.
- 15th. Granted.
- 16th. Granted.
- 17th. The Declaratory Act to be repealed, or explained so, as to be understood not to extend to Taxation but for regulation of Trade wch. is to be paid into the Treasuries of the Colonies.

By the above Plan those *other* Grievances hung up in the Petition to the King will be (I conceive) removed & Harmony establish'd on a permanent foundation.

[In Barclay's hand, and perhaps consisting of notes of a conversation with Hyde. Franklin gives a different version, though of generally similar tenor ; but Art. 12 is refused except for repeal of the Boston Port Act and some amendment of the Quebec Act, Art. 14 is agreed to, and Arts. 10 and 17 are declared inadmissible.]

IV. [REVISED HINTS]

[? Feb., 1775.]

- 1st. The Tea to be paid for.
- 2d. The Tea Duty Act to be repealed.

¹ Orig. text, *Not likely to be obtained, except* quartering.

² Orig. text, add, *or to be paid for by Gt. Bn.*

- 3d. The Colonies to enter into Compact that the Acts of Navigation which have already been passed in Gt. Bn. & such other Acts as may hereafter be passed for the Regulation of Trade shall be binding.
- 4th. All Duties arising on the Acts for regulating Trade with the Colonies to be for the public Use of the respective Colonies & paid into the Treasuries.
- 5th. A Naval officer appointed by the Crown to see that the Acts are duly observed.
- 6th. As the *Dignity* of Parliament must be preserved, q^d whether it may not be prudent for the Colonies to consent to raise annually, on requisition made by the King by Consent of Parliament a certain proportion (altho small) of their last provincial Tax equal to (suppose . . . thereof) when Britain pays 3/ in the pound to its land Tax? This Concession will so much please the *Major* part of the Nation, that they may be induced to yield more substantial Benefits.
- 7th. In time of War. . . .
- 8th. Castle William to be restored to the province of the Machusets' Bay.¹
- 9th. Massachusetts & Quebec Bills to be repealed.
- 10th. The Extention of the Acts Henry 8th. to be disclaimed by Parliament.
- 11th. The American Admiralty Courts reduced to the same powers they have in England.
- 12th. All Judges to be appd. during good behaviour with Salaries from Colonies, or if during pleasure, then Colonies to grant Salaries during their pleasure as heretofore.
- 13th. Gov^{rs}. to be supported by Voluntary Grants as heretofore.
- 14th. Declaritory Act to be repealed or explained so as not to extend to Taxation but for Regulation of Trade & as the Dutys raised thereon by No. 4 are to be paid into Treasuries of the Colonies will be safe.

[In Barclay's hand, and endorsed by him, "Plan for Conciliation."]

V. [LORD HYDE TO D. BARCLAY]

GROSVENOR STREET,
5th Feb. 1775.

Your letter my good friend, raises surprize & concern: The light I saw is obscured, great hopes are baffled. The

¹ Orig. Text, add, & to be paid for by Gt. Bn.

rubbs you mention are not to be smoothed by an arbitrary hand, they should be first mollified by submission. I saw & felt so much zeal for conciliatory measures that I craved your's & the worthy Doctor's assistance in order to render it general; the opportunity seemed critical & favourable; it may not return; I will still wish that it may not be lost. One can't foresee what dispositions or what men may come next. If all intentions can be made similar to those which prevailed yesterday I shall be happy to see you again on the same business. On any, you will ever meet, where I am, with unalterable esteem: pray assure Dr. Fothergill of the same.

HYDE.

[Endorsed in H. Gurney's hand, "Lord Hyde, Feb. 4th, 1775, appearing to open the Commission to D. B. & Dr. Fothergill to meet Frankleyn": the letter, however, belongs to a later period.]

VI. [DR. J. FOTHERGILL TO LORD DARTMOUTH]

[Feb. 6th, 1775.]

[For the text see Chapter XXVI. The letter intimates the failure of the negotiation. It is in rough draft: the earlier part in Barclay's hand, the rest in another hand: a good many corrections: evidently the wording had been the subject of discussion. Endorsed in Barclay's hand: "Dr. F. to L^d D. 6th 2/ mo. 75. copy."]

VII. A PLAN, WHICH, ITS BELIEVED, WOULD PRODUCE A PERMANENT UNION BETWEEN GT. BRITAIN & HER COLONIES

[Feb. 16th, 1775.]

- 1st. The Tea distroy'd to be paid for: And in order that no time may be lost to begin the desireable Work of Conciliation, it is proposed that the Agent or Agents, in a petition to the King shd: engage that the Tea distroy'd shall be paid for, & in consequence of that Engagement, a Commissioner to have Authority by a Clause in an Act of Parliament, to open the Port (by a Suspension of the Boston Port Act) as soon as that Engagement shall have been complied with.
- 2d. The Tea Duty Act to be repealed, as well for the Advantage of Gt. Britain as the Colonies.
- 3d. Castle William to be restor'd to the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, as formerly, before it was deliver'd up by Govr. Hutchison.

- 4th: As its believed that the *Commencement* of conciliatory Measures will in a considerable degree quiet the Minds of the Subjects in America, it is proposed that the Inhabitants of the Province of the Massachusets Bay shd. petition the K . . . [& Parliament, *deleted*] & state their Objections to the Act wch alters their Government. And it is to be *understood* that the [Relief shall be granted them, *deleted*] said Act shall be repealed. In the Interim the Commissioner to have power to suspend the Act in order to enable the Inhabitants to petition in a legislative Capacity.
- 5th. The several Provinces who may think themselves agriev'd by the Quebec Bill to petition in their legislative Capacities: and its to be *understood*, that so far of the Act, as extends the limits of Quebec beyond its ancient Bounds, to be repealed.
- 6th: The Act of Henry 8th: to be formally disclaimed by Parliament.
- 7th: In Time of *Peace* the Americans to raise within their respective Provinces, by Acts of their own Legislatures, a Certain sum or sums, such as may be thought necessary for a peace Establishment, to pay Governors, Judges &c. Vide Laws of Jamaica.
- 8th: In time of *War*, on Requisition made by the King, with consent of Parliament, every Colony shall raise such Sums of Money as their Legislatures may think suitable to their Abilities & the public Exigency, to be laid out in raising & paying Men for Land or Sea Service, furnishing Provisions, Transports or such other purposes as the King shall require & direct.
- 9th: The Acts of Navigation to be re-examined, in order to see whether some Alterations might not be made therein, as much for the Advantage of Gt. Britain, as the Ease of the Colonies.
- 10th: A Naval officer to be appointed by the Crown to reside in each Colony, to see these Acts observed.
N.B.—In some Colonies they are *not* appointed by the Crown.
- [11th: The Acts restraining Manufacturers to be reconsider'd but not with a View of detrimmenting Gt. Britain or ye Colonies, *deleted*.]
- 11th. All Duties arising on the Acts for regulating Trade with the Colonies to be for the public Use of the respective Colonies, & paid into their Treasuries, & an Officer of the Crown to see it done.

- 12th. The Admiralty Courts to be reduced to the same Powers as they have in England.
- 13th. All Judges in the King's Colony Governments to be appointed during Good Behaviour, & to be paid by the Province, agreeable to Article 7. *N.B.*—If the King chuses to add to their Salaries, the same to be sent from England.
- 14th. The Governors to be supported in the same Manner.

[In Barclay's hand, endorsed "Plan for Conciliation." Franklin has this paper, nearly identical.]

VIII. [LORD HYDE TO D. BARCLAY]

THE GROVE,
12th: July, 1775.

Ld. Hyde presents compliments full of esteem to his valuable friend Mr. Barclay, & returns sincere thanks for the favr. of his lr. of the 8th: inst. with that it conveyed. The latter he imparts this post where it is imagined Mr. Barclay desires it may be seen. It is to be wished that it contained encouragement rather than intimidation, as the former has often the best effect. The communication will certainly have that of convincing others as well as Ld. Hyde, of Mr. Barclay's truly patriotic principles. Hurry occasions the blots & prevents more reasoning.

[Copies of the letter and enclosure to which this is a reply seem not to have been preserved.]

IX. [DR. J. FOTHERGILL TO D. BARCLAY]

7th Inst. [? Oct. 1775].

[See Chapter XXVII. for the text of this short letter. In Fothergill's hand, and endorsed by him "To David Barclay, Present"; and in Barclay's hand "From Dr. Fothergill, Copy d—d Ld. Hyde, 8th (I think 12th. mo. 1775)." Printed in Lettsom.]

X. [MEMO. BY DR. J. FOTHERGILL, ENCLOSED IN NO. IX.]

[? Oct 7th, 1775.]

Things are arrived at such a crisis, that no temporary expedients ought to gain a moments consideration.

To open most speedily a communication between this country & those who are now possessed of the Supreme Power in America :—

To prevent both countrys from suffering all the calamitys of war, as speedily as possible :—

To plan the means of [establishing, *deleted*] uniting the whole empire in a firm and lasting union, are the immediate objects of consideration.

Every moment increases the evil. Animositys are growing both in this country and in America against us. Whatever is to be done to prevent all the evils that must arise from the present confusion, must be done speedily, or the occasion is perhaps lost for ever.

The following sketch will shew rather my wishes than my hopes of seeing the most certain, speedy and honourable means of effecting the proposed measures.

To send as speedily as possible some person or persons on whom Government may rely, and who are not unknown to some of the Leaders of the Congress, and on whose character and probity they may have some dependence, to propose to them:—

That an act shall be passed this Sessions virtually repealing all the blameable acts, by declaring that the colonys shall be considered as being governed by the same laws or placed in the same situation they were in the [year] 1762.

That in consequence of this declaration,—if accepted by the Congress,—the same persons shall have instructions to the Commander in chief & cease all Hostilities.

That a General Amnesty shall be declared, all prisoners released, the Provincial forces be disbanded, and the Ports reciprocally opened for both countrys.

That these preliminaries being fixed [the K—— shall order all the Provincial Assemblys, *deleted*], instructions shall be Sent to the several Governors to convene the Assemblys and require them to choose 2 or more delegates to meet a proper number of Commissioners from England at New York, and there to settle the due Limits of Authority on this side, submission on theirs. The Sword will never settle it as it ought to be. Submission to force, will endure no longer than superior force commands submission. Interest only can make it perpetual, and it is the interest of Britain that the union should be perpetual, be the present sacrifice what it may.

The mode of proceeding in the Union between England and Scotland, may be adopted so far as circumstances require : that is,—the different conditions of the Contenders considered. The objects are in most respects very different. From Scotland, this country had chiefly in view negative advantages :—that the Scots should not be any longer the tools of other powers, to work with to our undoing. From America, we

have every positive advantage to hope for: not only the benefits of commerce, but their power to protect us. Let it be considered that Scotland is reputed to contain but about one Million of People,—America Three million: that Scotland is not supposed to encrease in population,—America by population and Emigrants from other countrys becomes double every 25 years. Therefore that the present state of America claims, something more than Scotland could claim at the Union, both in respect to numbers, and future benefit.

No power in Europe, who knows its interest and has any possessions in the western world, will choose to offend us whilst we and America are united, because those possessions are immediately subject to the powers of America, directed by us. What those powers are we now know full well by experience. Every distant possession of every power in Europe, is a pledge for the good behaviour of its owner to Great Brittain. Is any object we are now contending for an equivalent to such an extensive and most certain influence?

[Every succeeding day, if the contest proceeds, will disclose most convincingly that we are unable to maintain . . . *deleted*.] It is therefore much to be wished that some such persons might be pitched upon and sent out, rather in a Private character, as friends to both Countrys, than with a publick, Authoritative commission: for if those who are now invested in America with Power, should *distrust* them, the business is at an end; and this country and that, are left exposed to all the distresses which are only beginning to be felt by both. Admⁿ may think it an easy matter to avert any storm which may arise from a discovery, that they have been misled, misinformed, and grossly abused, by those on whose opinion they had too confidently relied. This however may admit of some doubts, & I have too much regard for many of those who compose it to wish the experiment may ever be made.

Let it be considered that every provocation we give widens the breach: that the Americans have fully shewn, they are the descendants of Englishmen: that if they are warm and impetuous, like us they are placable; and instead of endeavouring to subdue them by force to a condition unworthy of our fellow subjects, our countrymen & our relations, let us open the shortest road to a Speedy honourable and effectual reconciliation.

[Here follows an alternative paragraph, *deleted*, as follows.]

One or two persons to be sent over, in a private capacity, to discover how far the Congress are disposed to a reconcilia-

tion on the following terms. That the Parliament shall repeal all the offensive Acts. Hostilities on our side to cease immediately on the agreement of the Congress to this proposition & their own forces to be disbanded. Commissioners to be chosen by the several assemblys, to meet other commissioners, all authorized by the King to take into consideration and adjust all matters in dispute, and frame any new regulations that may tend to the benefit of both countrys, to be ratified by act of Parliament.

[Written with various emendations in Fothergill's hand. Endorsed in another hand, "Letter from Dr. Fothergill to Ld. D." Lettsom prints most of this paper.]

XI. [D. BARCLAY TO LORD HYDE]

[? Oct. or Nov. 1775.]

Agreeable to My Noble Friend's request, I have consider'd the subject of our Conversation the other day relative to an Accomodation with America, but on reviewing what fell from me, I see no Reason to alter my Sentiments, nor is it in my power to give any Council that appears so efficacious as the adopting of *liberal* Sentiments towards Extinguishing a ruinous civil War, and I am persuaded if Ad——n really mean to effect it (however humiliating it may [seem, *deleted*] prove), they must condescend to *undo all* that wch through *Misinformation*, or *Misconduct* has been brought on America ; & therefore unless Commissioners have *ample* Powers to guarantee such Concessions, I cannot see what Expectation there can be of Success in the Negotiation ; for when we consider that the Americans think Ad——n have been influenced by [a fierce System of despotism, *deleted*] cruel & oppressive Systems of Government, we must suppose they will be cautious of treating with those who they think have shown such a Disposition, & consequently the Characters of those who may be employed in this delicate business will be material, & I expect this will the more operate, from the unsuccessful Negotiation of last year, which, *One* in the Congress will most probably not be unmindful of. It must be remember'd, that its probable on the Arrival of Commissioners in America every Power will be invested solely in the People, & consequently the Difficulty will be greater to return to old Grounds. I mean by saying "on the Arrival of Commissioners," that as the *most moderate* built much on their *last*, Petition, an Account of its cold Reception here, will, I

think, have left them *without Hope*, & united the People beyond that, wch by the latest Accounts we have received.

The minds of the Americans are so inflamed, that if more is insisted on, than what their Resentments can now bear, the Colonies [may, *deleted*] will probably be lost. As to Revenue, I am firmly of the opinion that America will continue the War rather than grant it. And if Ad—n should imagine that the Colonies will desert the Province of the Massachusetts Bay respecting the Alteration of their Government, I am firmly persuaded that they will be deceived, as America must be first *conquered* [before she will desert that Province, *deleted*]. But if these two cardinal points are once determined to be given up on the side of Adn., I see nothing that should prevent an unreserved generous Conduct towards America, & a Grant of even more than they ask for, because, on an Accommodation, it will appear, that such a Conduct must ultimately prove advantageous to both Countries.

If the plan of Adn. shd. prove to be the sending of a Great Force in the Spring to America, & with it (under the Appearance of the Olive Branch) Commissioners who are deeply versed in the Arts of Negotiation to learn their Grievances wch all the World knows, or to endeavor to patch up a Peace on the most *narrow* Terms on wch it can be effected, I think the Consequence will be either Disappointment to the Nation, Disgrace or more effusion of Blood.

[Rough draft in Barclay's hand, with many emendations. Endorsed by him: "Copy to Ld. Hyde, I think 8th. 12/mo. 1775." This letter seems to have followed a conversation with Hyde on Fothergill's proposals, and answers his enquiries. It will be noticed, in this and following letters, how Barclay's naturally cool temper is stirred by the wrongs done to the colonists.]

XII. [D. BARCLAY TO LORD HYDE]

BIRMINGHAM 5th: ¹²/_{mo} Decr. 1775.

MY NOBLE FRIEND: Altho I have not the Vanity to believe that anything wch I can offer will influence Adm. in respect to America, I know not how to avoid communicating such Information, as I have received from the other side the Atlantick, or such Circumstances as from my Knowledge of the people can in the smallest Degree tend to heal the Breach between both Countrys. I trust it is needless for me to remind my Noble Friend that I have but too prophetically warned Administration of every Thing that has happen'd

since the passing of the Boston Port Bill, but I desire it may be understood that I do not impute this to any Cause but that of a Knowledge of the People & Information that may be depended on. It may be likewise needless for me to repeat that Reconciliation has invariably been the object of my Desire, & that my most zealous Endeavors have been exerted to accelerate the desireable Work, in wch my able medical Friend hath [*anxiously, deleted*] constantly cooperated; & probably it would have been happy for both Countries, if this Great Work had been effected last year. But as the then Advocates for Conciliation could not prevail, perhaps the unhappy Consequences which have ensued, may now give their Information more credit hereafter, on wch Ground, & on wch. alone, I take the liberty to inform my honorable Friend that, from Intelligence founded on the greatest Certainty, I have reason to believe that if Reconciliation does not immediately take place, the Colonies as surely as they exist will be lost to Gt. Bn. for ever, & to use the very Words of my Author:—"Another Campaign in America cuts the two Countries asunder never to meet again. May Almighty God incline those in power to firmly believe this most indubitable Truth. If you think that my Name will give any Credit to the Intelligence you may freely use it. And he adds, I beg you Sir in the Name of both our Countries to have the Intelligence communicated to you applied to the best purpose that your prudence shall approve."

As I wish to stand acquitted to my Friend in America & to both Countries, I desire the favor that this Letter may be shewn to Lord North, & to any other noble personage in Administration that my Much Valued Friend may think proper.

I am with every sentiment of Deference & Respect

D B

I expect to stay here until the 11th. Inst. & to be into Hertfordshire the latter end of next Week.

[Rough draft in Barclay's hand: many emendations.]

XIII. [LORD HYDE TO D. BARCLAY]

14th. Dec: 1775.

I can no longer suffer, my worthy friend's last letter to remain without an answer, tho' I have rec'd nothing categorical upon it. What your correspondent foretells, & you

seem to concur in the prophesy, may happen, but the fate of war is uncertain, so consequently must be it's effects. I shall be sorry if any step towards a conciliation is farther to be made by the sword ; yet, from appearances, that bloody negotiator will be used on both sides, unless terms are more admissible or that a total separation should suddenly take place. Your wishes & mine agree as to the end, but neither have power to prescribe the means. Whatever may be the final conclusion of this calamity ; I trust there will be none to our friendship :—mine for you must be lasting as it is founded on a just & perfect esteem.

HYDE.

[Endorsed " To Mr. D. Barclay, Red Lyon Square."]

XIV. [D. BARCLAY TO LORD HYDE]

[1776]

Indisposition having prevented me from waiting on my Noble Friend this Morning as I much wished to do, to plead once more the Cause of America & perhaps once more to take the freedom of Entering my Protest in Grosvenor Street, against the inimical Measures wch seem to be determined on & which appear to me big with fatal Consequences ; & which in my View is as clear as those that last year I but too Prophetically foretold—: my particular Object at present is, that if A——n is so very imprudent as to persist in their intended hostile Measures to preserve this same *Dignity* (a word wch I more & more wish was anhielated out of the English Language since *Justice* is to have no Share therein,) I say if they will obstinately persist, I am^{*} constrained to entreat that these Measures may be made use of in terrorem only, & that the Ministry will condescend to let some of the Friends of America who are equally the Wellwishers of this Country to know decisively *what will satisfie*, as to DIGNITY, & what Terms Administration intend to grant to the Americans after they have appeased the [Advocates, *deleted*] Devotees of Dignity, for unless this Information goes to America by the same Conveyance, as the hostile Orders, I think there is not the least Prospect of any favorable Accounts from that side the Atlantick, or any Comfortable view on this Side the Water—[My idea is that an admissible Plan should be considered, *deleted*] I wish this Idea might be communicated where it may be of avail, & if thought rational a Plan of Pacification that is likely to be acceded to on both Sides, might be consider'd, in order to prevent the Evils wch otherwise must inevitably ensue from the Distance of the discordant Parties.

However we may differ in Politicks, I trust My Noble & much Hon'd Friend will believe that I am most respectfully,
D. B.

[Rough draft in Barclay's hand, endorsed by him "Copy of a Lr. to Ld. H." The letter is full of the indignation of outraged justice, which the writer hardly knows how to express : the many alterations in the original text bespeak his burning thoughts.]

XV. [PLAN OF CONCILIATION, 1777]

[? Near end of year] 1777.

A *Plan* deduced from *Hints* 1774, & the *Basis of a plan* 1774 [1775]. Articles No 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 10. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. from *Hints*. Articles No. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. from the *Basis of a plan*. To be added thereto, the following, on account of Circumstances that have since occurred, Viz. :

No. 18 An Act of Oblivion for all past offences.

19 Permission for the respective Colonies to sink by Taxes, the Money wch. the Congress has issued during the War.

Qr. Whether it would not be adviseable to repeal the Declaritory Act.

And To govern the Colonies by a Congress, in wch. a Viceroy to have a Negative.

[In Barclay's hand. This "Plan" evidently belongs to a later period of the war than the others. Some allusions in No. XIV., however, make it possible that it was drawn up near the same date.]

XVI. [DR. J. FOTHERGILL TO D. BARCLAY]

21st. Inst. [? end of 1777.]

[See Chapter XXVIII. for the text of this letter. It is in Fothergill's hand, endorsed by him, "To David Barclay." The letter follows a conversation with Barclay, probably referring to the "Plan" just detailed.]

XVII. [LORD CLARENDON TO D. BARCLAY, 1783]

[When Lettsom wrote his memoir of Fothergill, Barclay supplied him with copies of some of the papers dealing with these negotiations. Before publication Barclay showed the proof of the memoir to Lord Hyde, now become Earl of Clarendon, who wrote to him on April 14, 1783, suggesting some alterations

tending to soften the language employed, and to avoid severe or sarcastic allusion to the past policy of the British ministry. Dealing with the original "Hints," he would have it stated that after a copy had been taken, they were "imparted for negotiation," without mentioning any name, "and the answer was that the propositions appeared to demand too much. Otherwise," Lord Clarendon continues, "I stand as the principal transactor, when the truth is, I was not the minister or invested with full powers. Indeed I don't see the absolute necessity of inserting my name in p. clv., unless it is thought to authenticate a narration which has truth for its foundation. However I acquiesce in what is most desired by my worthy friend, ever remaining cordially yrs, C.

I have had an opportunity of explaining to the King the foundation of my high esteem for Mr. Barclay ; it seemed to give mutual satisfaction."]

[Two days later he wrote again :]

16th. April 1783.

Ld. Clarendon gratefully acknowledges the attention paid to his few remarks on the inclosed, & seeing, since he wrote last, a very violent spirit rising against the minister, who presided when the negotiation alluded to was in activity, must desire that Ld. Clarendon's name may not be in print. The articles in the publication may be referred to in speeches and he called upon to explain the transaction. The acquitting himself might be condemning others ; w'h is not his disposition neither can the eclairsissement be now of use, but may be detrimental, and add oyl to fire, w'h he is persuaded is contrary to his valuable friend's temper & design.

Not to blow coals, almost extinguished, perhaps it wd. be most prudent & most becoming benign dispositions to postpone the publication till Parlt. is prorogued, especially as a fresh commercial negotiation is on the anvil. They are certainly not similar & the comparison may increase invectives & odium.

Ld. Clarendon concurs in opinion on Dr. Fothergil's conduct & writing & reveres his memory.

[The minister alluded to in this letter is of course Lord North, who at this time joined with Fox in the famous Coalition ministry.]

APPENDIX B

LETTER OF ADVICE TO A YOUNG PATIENT BY
DR. JOHN FOTHERGILL

ESTEEMED FRIEND—Though I have ever placed thee in the rank of those whom I think it an honour to be permitted to attend in the way of my profession, yet I am never sent for upon thy account but it gives me some pain, both as I cannot forbear pitying the distressed, and as in thy case more especially I am concerned lest the present indisposition should lay the foundation of any other whose consequences might be more threatening.

This has induced me to consider every circumstance of thy habit with attention, and to submit to thy perusal the following remarks. They are written with no other view than to put thee a little upon thy guard against everything that might injure a delicate constitution, a tender frame, too sensible of a great many influences which no way affect a great many others.

But do not be afraid that I am going, either to prescribe a course of medicine and tedious regulations, or to debar thee of any thing that can justly render life agreeable. I am only going to recommend what thy own good sense will shew are as necessary, as they are easy to be complied with. I will point them out in as narrow a compass as I can, and leave them to be pursued with that obliging readiness wherewith my directions have always been followed.

It would be tedious to both to give a great many rules with regard to diet. The stomach is in general the best director ; whatever it takes with pleasure, I mean with regard to quality, is always preferable to any other ; but to regulate the quantity is not always easy ; yet to leave off rather short is sometimes necessary, even though the appetite seems yet lively. Nothing tends more to keep off heaviness, feverish heats, or lowness of spirits, than a care in this one point. I

know it is objected, that to hinder persons who eat but very little from eating as much as they can is unreasonable. But experience is on my side, and I will appeal to every prudent person who has tried the effect of eating slowly, and sometimes with a little restraint.

This abstemious method has likewise another good effect ; it allows a glass of wine to be drunk without injury ; nay it renders it necessary and beneficial. I am certain that under such circumstances a glass or two of good red wine would be of great use to thyself.

I think butter, fat meats, or anything much seasoned will not be agreeable, I mean so as to make them a considerable part of thy diet. The first are relaxing, the last heats the blood too much. I do not say that butter is absolutely to be avoided ; only that it is not quite so inoffensive in habits like thine as some think. When it is quite fresh and new it is the least detrimental.

As I have frequently mentioned my opinion of tea I shall say little of it now : only permit me to add that I am no enemy to it from prejudice, but from experiment : I like it too well myself not to wish that I might allow every one to drink it without restraint. But it certainly relaxes the stomach, in time weakens the digestion, and infallibly renders the constitution itself more delicate, tender and weakly than it is by nature. Strong and healthy people, who drink freely, are so far from feeling any ill effects from its use that it is often advantageous to them, but we are neither of us of this rank : if we must therefore drink tea let it be in small quantities, not hot, nor immoderately strong.

Let me prevail upon thee never to read immediately after dinner, and after supper not too much. It is next to impossible, if the subject is at all interesting, entirely to forget it, when it is necessary to seek repose. The nature of my employment has for a long time engaged me in a contrary conduct, and I have suffered accordingly, yet almost without a power of altering it. What necessary study began choice soon induced me to continue, and a strong desire of being behind nobody in the faculty, as far as industry capacity and opportunities of improvement would suffer me. I only mention these to assure thee the more strongly, that reading at nights with any attention or concern about what we read is highly prejudicial to health.

When I have had resolution enough to throw aside my book or my pen for the latter part of the evening, and only entertained myself with reviewing the actions of the day, I

have thought it the most agreeable way of spending half an hour before I go to bed. Not that my conduct is always such that it merits my own approbation ; far from it, but [rather] the pleasing hope of its being a likely method of growing wiser and better, and of drawing down the favourable regard of an infinitely good and benevolent Protector by a silent appeal to his awful majesty. Thus committing ourselves to his care, we become tranquil and serene ; our repose is undisturbed, the blood flows with ease, the motion of the spirits is calm and regular, we awake refreshed, without feverish heats, headaches, thirst, or any of those other consequences of interrupted rest and restrained perspiration.

Exercise we have frequently had occasion to mention, and I dare not enter upon it here, because I should not be able to say enough, or must say too little. In general that exercise is the most healthful in which the mind takes most part. Travelling is of this sort, and that I have often or more than once recommended.

But I must not omit to make some observations upon dress. I own that with a less impartial person than thyself whatever I might say on this subject would be little regarded, as I discover in my own [attire] what many will naturally look upon as either prejudice or want of taste. But I will endeavour to convince thee that what I shall say upon this head arises less from my particular sentiments about some parts of the dress of your sex than from a just enquiry and consideration of it.

I am mistaken if the first part which I would mention is not already sufficiently attended to, yet a caution can do no prejudice. I mean an absolute freedom and ease in that part of your sex's dress which is frequently the most nicely contrived for injuring the health ; not the hoop but the stays. Whilst they support the body with ease, and without closely confining any particular part, they are useful. But if they press upon the stomach, straiten the breast, or imprison the waist, they are the most certainly pernicious of anything that the art of man could have invented in the nature of dress. Nay, it must have been a contrivance of some of your sex ; ours love you too well to have been originally guilty of so much cruelty. In short, if the stays are not perfectly easy, they must, they will be injurious, and I intreat thee, by all the regard thou owes to a most affectionate father, to be just to thyself and to him in this respect. I readily acknowledge that I have no reason in particular for saying this, but I mention it as a caution in general.

Another circumstance which I think ought to be more regarded than it is, and about which the more delicate part of your sex is uncommonly negligent, is their not regarding either seasons or weather, or their health. They keep warm within doors, and dress for convenience and ease as they ought, but when they go abroad they are no longer at their own command. If those who preside over the fashion dress in summer as they ought to do in winter, or the reverse, unhappily the least able must follow, unless they have resolution enough to act sensibly in spite of custom. But I do not charge all, and I must leave it to thy prudence both to determine wherein care is necessary, and to act in consequence of it.

I will just conclude a letter, which I am afraid will be excessively tedious, by taking notice that of all the passions which we can possibly entertain hope is the most agreeable, and has the best effects upon the constitution. I confess it is not always in our power to command ourselves in this respect ; even those who are placed, like thyself, in the most easy situation in life, with the kindest of parents, willing and able to be beforehand with every wish ; with qualifications both of person and mind that will command every one's respect, and secure thee the esteem of people of sense :—I say with all these qualifications it is not always in our power to preserve a constant, happy, easy serenity. It is not granted to human kind : the best, the greatest, the wisest feel a series of vicissitudes. Yet reflect what infinite numbers of mankind have more reason for solicitude, and how few have less, whenever any anxious thought appears, and I do not doubt but it will contribute to banish it.

Accept, with that favourable regard with which thou art always pleased to treat my admonitions, these plain, undressed remarks. They are the product of strong desires to give thee some mark of a grateful disposition, and to contribute all in my power to the health and happiness of so deserving a person.—I am thy respectful Frd.,
J. F.

[This letter is among the David Barclay MSS. It was addressed to Martha Hudson, daughter of John Hudson of Bush Hill, Enfield. Fothergill was at this time in the earlier years of his practice, and is said to have had a special regard for his patient. She married, however, his intimate friend David Barclay in 1749, as is narrated in Chapter XXI.]

APPENDIX C

LETTER FROM SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO A YOUNG WOMAN A SHORT TIME BEFORE HER MARRIAGE

HAVING heard that thou art shortly to enter a garden enclosed, and knowing that thou art at present a stranger to this garden, permit me, an old friend, to give thee an account of it. I have travelled every path and part thereof and know the productions of every kind it can possibly yield. My information can do no harm, it may do some good.

Thou knowest there is but one way of entrance into this garden enclosed. I hardly need tell thee that it is commonly extremely gay and glittering, strewed with flowers of every hue and fragrance, all that art or imagination can invent ; and thou wilt fondly hope this scene of rapture will never alter. At least thou wilt not see the end of this path when thou enterest it : to some it proves a very short way, and even to thee it will appear very different in the retrospect.

Here let me caution thee, my dear girl, not to dream of perfect happiness ; if thou dost, experience will make thee know that it never existed on earth but in visions or visionary heads.

Thou wilt meet with many productions in this garden that are charming to the eye and pleasing to the taste, but they are not all so. Let me just remark that you both carry to this place one of the most delicate and delicious in all nature, I mean Good Humour. Do not drop it or lose it as many do after they are entered, and seldom find it again. It is a treasure nothing can make up the want of to you.

When you have got to the end of the first path, which lasts about thirty paces, and which is usually called Honeymoon Path, you will see the garden expand and open into a variety of views. Here I must caution you against productions which are nauseous and even fatal in their tendency to the unwary and the ignorant. There is a small plant in almost every path called Indifference ; it is not often perceived at the entrance, but thou wilt always know when near this plant,

by a certain coldness in the air which surrounds it. Whenever thou perceivest this change in the air, change thy situation as fast as possible.

In the same path that ugly yellow flower is found called Jealousy, which I wish thee never to look at. Turn from it as fast as thou canst, for it has the strange quality of tinging the eye that beholds it, a stain that is seldom or never got rid of.

As thou goest along thou wilt meet many little crooked paths. If thou wouldst go into them, I advise thee as a friend never to attempt it; for though at the entrance of each is written in large letters, "I AM IN THE RIGHT," yet when thou gettest to the end, in nine cases out of ten thou wilt find the true name to be Perverseness, and that thou hast gone in at the wrong road, which thou wilt never acknowledge. This occasions great dispute, for they can never settle the right or the wrong end of these paths; it is a source of perpetual differing and sometimes ends in final separation.

In this garden and near this spot thou wilt find a strong knotty plant called Obstinacy, which bears a hard bitter fruit which never digests, always injures the constitution, and becomes fatal when taken in large quantities. Turn from it, avoid it as thou wouldst the plague.

Just opposite to this grows the double lovely flower Compliance, which though not pleasant to the palate is salutary and sweet when digested, which it is very easily, having the most delicious fruit in the garden. Never be without a sprig of it in thy hand: it will be of great use to thee and often wanted as thou goest along, and thou wilt sorely repent the absence of it.

All over the garden may be found a useful plant called Economy. It is of a thriving quality; take a good stock of it as soon as thou goest in: it adorns and enriches at the same time. Many entirely overlook it, some despise it, and others think they shall never want it. It is generally in the hurry and gaiety with which people enter this place that the total want of it is often paid for with bitter repentance: provide thyself and partner with a proper quantity as soon as thou canst.

When in this place, thou wilt observe as thou passest two or three paths that run one into the other, which deserve thy particular attention,—I mean those of Regularity and Exactness. They are always to be met with here. Do not think, as many do, that when thou art once entered in thou mayst be careless of thy person and dress. Remember, thy com-

panion will see some who are not so, and thy indifference will strike his eye, if it does not offend it. Enter these paths almost as soon as thou dost the garden, and take my word for it, if thou dost not find them soon, thou wilt never find them at all afterwards.

Near to them is to be found that invaluable sweet shrub Humility, which though of no worth in itself, yet when joined with the other good qualities is worth them all put together. It is never seen without being admired, and is most admired when it is most invisible ; the virtue thereof is its own reward. I am sure Pride is its own punishment ; fly from it as from a contagion which it strangely resembles : it infects and corrupts the soul. Cultivate with all thy care the humble, lovely and delicious plant just mentioned, as the first antidote against this poisonous weed.

Allow me to drop a hint on the subject of cultivation as that most probably will be your employ sooner or later. Should you be entrusted with the raising of a flower, remember something first : that it is but a flower, however fair, frail in its nature and fading at every blast ; and secondly, that it is a flower entrusted, for the culture of which you are accountable to the great Owner of the garden. Should you be witness of a blast upon its dawning beauties, oh, how your fond hearts will bleed with tenderness, affection and sympathy. Your feelings may be conceived, but they can't be described. The young shoots will naturally and insensibly twine round all the fibres of your frame. Should it live, then spare no pains to teach this young production how to rise : weed it, water it, prune it, it will require them all ; without this, many baneful weeds will grow up and poison the very soil on which it grows. I say this is a trust, for which you will both be accountable to Him who giveth it.

That you may be blessed with some of the sweetest productions of the garden, that they may be the delight of your eyes and the joy of your hearts, that they may be your chief ornaments in life, and your comforts in death, and that you and they—when the season of life is over—may be transported to some happy soil hereafter, and flourish together in immortal regions in perfect and permanent felicity, is and ever will be the ardent prayer of—Thy affectionate Friend,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

[The present writer has to thank his relative Mrs. Edward Cadbury for a copy of this letter, long preserved in her family.]

APPENDIX D

BIOGRAPHICAL AND MANUSCRIPT REFERENCES AND PORTRAITS

BIOGRAPHY

A FEW weeks after the death of Fothergill, Dr. William Hird, a Friend who had married one of his nieces, and who seems to have stepped in for a time to attend to his medical practice, published *An Affectionate Tribute to the Memory of the late Dr. John Fothergill*, Feb. 28, 1781. This essay or eulogium sympathetically appreciates Fothergill's character, and is evidently written by one who could himself respond to its finer traits. Hird, who was physician to the Leeds Infirmary, did not long survive his uncle. In the meantime Dr. (afterwards Sir) John Elliot was collecting the scattered papers of Fothergill that had been published, and one or two unpublished, and from such information as he could glean, as well as from Hird's Tribute, compiled an account of his life, which he prefixed to *A Complete Collection of the Works of John Fothergill*, published in the middle of 1781. The haste with which the volume was compiled and the slight personal knowledge of his subject enjoyed by the writer led to the inclusion of a good many errors. In the next year, 1782, Dr. Gilbert Thompson, who had known Fothergill well, drew up at the desire of the Medical Society (of Physicians) *Memoirs of the Life and a view of the Character of the late Dr. John Fothergill*. In this essay an accurate account of Fothergill's life is given, and a discriminating picture of his medical character. In the same year Lettsom, whose long intimacy with his patron, and whose ready mind and pen rendered him obviously the fittest biographer, read before two sessions of the Society of (Licentiate) Physicians *Some Account of the late John Fothergill*. Upon this memoir he had been at work for some time; he used all the previous essays, and added much information of his own, obtaining more from David Barclay and from the medical and other friends of the deceased.

Lettsom took great pains with the setting of the whole, and gave to his style and periods much polish. So complete and correct an account became the standard biography of Fothergill, and the source from which all later writers have drawn. It was published in 1782, at first separately, and later appended to *The Works of John Fothergill, M.D.*, which were carefully set forth by Lettsom in a quarto edition, and also in three volumes octavo. They were translated into German and published at Altenbourg in 1785. Baron Thomas Dimsdale also printed privately a small *Tribute of Friendship to the Memory of Dr. Fothergill* in 1783. An *Éloge* was pronounced upon Fothergill as a Foreign Associate of the *Société Royale de Médecine* of Paris by its Secretary, Vicq d'Azyr, in 1782, and is printed in the fourth volume of its *Histoire*. The eulogist traced in generous and glowing phrases the career of the physician and philanthropist, from materials supplied by Lettsom, not always accurately used. The *Memoirs and Correspondence of Lettsom* by Pettigrew, 1817, contain further information on Fothergill, as do the *Memoirs of Samuel Fothergill* by George Crosfield, 1843, and there are many references to him in Nichols' *Literary History* and *Literary Anecdotes*. Articles on Fothergill have appeared in numerous dictionaries and biographical works, but have contained little new material. Some of the best are in the *Biographie Universelle*, 1816, an eloquent article written by Dr. Chaumeton of Paris; *Lives of British Physicians*, 1830, in this case by Dr. Bisset Hawkins; Hartley Coleridge's *Biographia Borealis*; Hutchinson, *Biographia Medica*; Munk, *Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London*; and the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

On the occasion of the Centenary of Ackworth School in 1879, the late James Hack Tuke wrote an admirable *Sketch of the Life of John Fothergill*, viewed especially from the Friendly standpoint, and as founder of the school. J. H. Tuke used for this work many letters preserved by the family, some of which cannot now be found.

Other notices of Fothergill may be found in *The Cottage Gardener*, vii. 327; Loudon, *Arboretum*; S. Miller, *Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century*, i. 368; D. H. Forsythe, in *Quaker Biographies*, Phila., 1910, iv.; and the present writer's *William Hunter and his Friends*, 1901, and *Dr. John Fothergill in The Practitioner*, 1911, p. 841.

MANUSCRIPTS

Fothergill's papers and manuscripts remained in the hands of his niece Alice Chorley until her death at a great age in 1828, after which they seem to have been dispersed, sold or lost. A large number of his letters have however been preserved in various manuscript collections on both sides of the Atlantic, and these are referred to in the footnotes to this work, as follows :

(1) *Frds. Ref. Lib.* Many letters, including especially the Crosfield MSS. used by G. Crosfield and others, are in the Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London.

(2) *Etting MSS.* A large collection, chiefly letters to James Pemberton, Philadelphia : now in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in that city.

(3) *Bartram MSS.* Letters to J. and W. Bartram and others : in the same Library.

(4) *Amer. Phil. Soc.* Some letters in the Library of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

(5) *The Gilbert MSS.* contain some letters, preserved at the College of Physicians, Philadelphia.

(6) *C. Roberts' MSS.* Haverford College, Pennsylvania.

(7) *J. M. Fox MSS.* Letters in Mr. Joseph M. Fox's library, Philadelphia.

(8) *Alston MSS.* About fourteen letters are among the MSS. relating to Fothergill's old teacher, Dr. C. Alston, Professor of Botany at the University of Edinburgh ; they are preserved in the Library of the University. These were brought to the author's notice by Professor I. Bayley Balfour, who very kindly forwarded copies to him.

(9) *Hunter-Baillie MSS.* At the Royal College of Surgeons, London ; two letters to Dr. W. Hunter.

(10) Miss Mabyn Fothergill, Edinburgh, possesses some letters.

(11) A few letters are among the *David Barclay MSS.* in the hands of Mr. J. H. Gurney.

The author has enjoyed ready and constant access to the Friends' Reference Library, whose librarian, Norman Penney, and his assistants have helped him much ; a similar debt is owed to the Library of the British Museum. Amongst the medical libraries of London, constant use has been made of that of the Royal Society of Medicine, in the charge of Mr. J. Y. W. Macalister and of Mr. C. R. Hewitt, as well as those of the Royal College of Physicians (Dr. Arnold Chaplin, Harveian Librarian), of the Royal College of Surgeons (Mr. V. G. Plarr, Librarian), and of the Medical Society of London

(Dr. A. F. Voelcker). The Librarians of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Mr. J. W. Jordan), of the American Philosophical Society (Mr. I. Minis Hayes), of the Library Company of Philadelphia (Mr. G. M. Abbot), and of the College of Physicians in that city (Mr. C. P. Fisher), as well as of other public Libraries in the United States, have responded courteously to all his enquiries. Professor Allen C. Thomas of Haverford College, Penna., has also given willing aid.

The author's thanks are due to many friends and correspondents who have rendered to him ready help. Some of this has been already acknowledged, but he would here especially mention Mrs. Francis B. Gummere of Haverford, and Joseph J. Green of Hastings. In both cases their knowledge and their research in Quaker lore have rendered their help of special value.

PORTRAITS, ETC.

Fothergill was often requested to sit for his portrait, but always declined to do so ; the stricter Quakers looked upon portraiture as a form of vanity, although Fothergill himself had a collection of the " heads " of others. But the respect with which he was regarded led to not a few attempts to portray him.

(1) The chief of these was by Gilbert Stuart, who painted him after his death from memory. Stuart is well known for his portraits of kings and presidents, especially those of Washington ; his portrait of his master, Benjamin West, P.R.A., is in the National Gallery, London. That of Fothergill was one of his early works ; it was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1781. It shows a man of slight build and in the prime of life : the face is rather pale : note the fine forehead and mouth, and the delicate hand. D. Barclay considered the likeness to be a good one. It was the source of the mezzotint by Valentine Green, 1781, which is the best known of Fothergill's engraved portraits ; the face is much more lined than in the painting and there are other changes. A reduced print was issued by W. Darton in 1828. Stuart's portrait went to America, was purchased at the Ichenhauser Sale in New York in 1903, and now hangs in the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia. An excellent photograph by C. R. Pancoast is reproduced in this volume (see Frontispiece). An oil portrait in the hall of the Medical Society of London appears to be an indifferent copy of Stuart's work.

(2) A second portrait of Fothergill is in the Royal College of Physicians, London. He is represented at full length, seated at a table, with a large drawing in his hand ; the face is tranquil, and the expression of the whole rather wanting in force. The work is ascribed to Hogarth, but this may be queried (see reproduction, opposite page 18).

(3) A bust was modelled under Lettsom's auspices by Mrs. Wright, who worked in wax. This bust at one time adorned Lettsom's library at Camberwell. Plaster copies are in the Friends' Institute, London ; in the Fothergill Hall at Ackworth School, long the property of Dr. Caleb Williams ; and a good example, once in the possession of Dr. T. Bevan and probably before him of Dr. T. Hodgkin, at Finsbury Circus, was presented to the author by M. E. Bennett. From the bust a portrait was drawn by R. Livesay, and from this a mezzotint engraving was executed by Bartolozzi, which is prefixed to Lettsom's account of Fothergill in his *Works*. This also received the approval of Dr. T. Percival. C. Blackberd drew a small portrait from the bust, which was engraved by John Hall in 1790, and Migneret executed another of fine quality.

(4) A portrait by R. Cosway, engraved by Bartolozzi, was inserted in Lettsom's Account of Fothergill, 1782.

(5) A small oval mezzotint, published by E. Hedges, 1781, represents Fothergill in hat and wig, a rather stiff prim figure, the facial expression unlike that shown by other portraits. It is reproduced in W. Whitten's second series of *Quaker Pictures*. Another portrait of similar type, with a sketch below of Fothergill acting as the Good Samaritan, by Cook, was issued by John Walker in 1781, and forms the frontispiece to Elliot's edition of Fothergill's *Works*. A silhouette in Lettsom's *Hints*, and a small copper plaque at Friends' Reference Library may also be mentioned. Examples of most of the engraved portraits are at the Friends' Institute, collected by the late James Boorne (see *Frds. Quart. Exam.* x. 554).

(6) An interesting sketch portrait in red carbon by J. Flaxman, R.A., is in the collection of Sir T. Barlow, Bart. The expression of the face is grave and rather severe.

(7) There is a fine bust of reduced size, in black porcelain, the work of Wedgwood ; it is believed to be from Flaxman's design, and is an admirable work of art. Examples are in the Haverford College Library, Penna., and in the possession of Mrs. J. G. Glover of London.

(8) A beautiful raised medallion portrait of similar design, in white biscuit-ware on a jasper ground, was also executed by Wedgwood, and reproduced by the firm at Etruria about 1879. Copies are in the hands of members of the family ; also of Sir W. Osler, Bart., and of the author, the gift of Mrs. T. A. Cotton. (See reproduction, opposite page 384.)

(9) A portrait in oil by J. D. Penrose, about 1906, composed from engraved portraits of Fothergill, and presented by S. R. Shipley to Haverford College, Penna.

(10) A caricature sketch by G. Dance, of Fothergill in consultation with Dr. Antony Addington, father of Mr. Speaker Addington afterwards Lord Sidmouth, and with Dr. D'Escherny. The sketch is dated 1770, and is in the hands of Mrs. Lawrence of Whittington Court, Andoversford. (A reproduction will be found opposite page 45.)

A few personal relics of Fothergill have been preserved. A good bureau-cabinet is at Ackworth School, with Fothergill's Diplomas, etc. His gold-headed cane is in Philadelphia; it bears the initials, J. F., with inscriptions added to record its descent through the James and Morris families. A pair of topaz sleeve-buttons, traditionally said to have been given to Fothergill by a duchess, are in the possession of the College of Physicians in Philadelphia. They are enclosed in a tiny silver vase, and have come through the hands of Dr. Parish of that city, Prof. Geo. B. Wood, Dr. Horatio Wood and Dr. S. Weir Mitchell. An enamelled copper taper-stand, with box for wafers, a silver muffineer, Chinese tea-caddies and a screen are in the possession of Dr. W. E. Fothergill of Manchester. An agate snuff-box is with Mrs. J. Rimington Fothergill of Darlington. W. S. Fothergill of Redcar has silver plate with the doctor's monogram, and a curious earthenware "bear" for *pot-pourri*. Miss Maby Fothergill of Edinburgh holds a Bible, dated 1653, which belonged to Dr. Fothergill's mother, Margaret Hough, and contains entries of his own and his brothers' births. In the same keeping is a blue-ware coffee-pot, and a seal on which is inscribed the Fothergill name in Arabic letters.

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